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ABSTRACT

This monograph presents a variety of approaches to the handling of juvenile offenders, with an emphasis on diverting the juvenile from the criminal justice system. Papers cover the community-based treatment of juveniles in Massachusetts, diversion of juvenile offenders--as a new term used for new directions, human development and treatment programs, the use of the workshop, action research as a change model for corrections, and the role of the community in juvenile delinquency programs. Data charts, diagrams, and bibliographies are included. (KP)

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CRIMINAL JUSTICE MONOGRAPH

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH EDUCATION & WELFARE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

New Approaches to Diversion and Treatment of Juvenile Offenders

CE 000 431

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice

ED 083429

CRIMINAL JUSTICE MONOGRAPH

New Approaches to Diversion and Treatment of Juvenile Offenders

This monograph consists of papers on related topics presented at the Fourth National Symposium on Law Enforcement Science and Technology, May 1-3, 1972 conducted by:

THE INSTITUTE OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE
AND CRIMINOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

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June 1973

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FOREWORD

This publication is one of a series of nine monographs extracted from the Proceedings of the Fourth National Symposium on Law Enforcement Science and Technology.

The principal Symposium theme of "Crime Prevention and Deterrence" was chosen by the National Institute as a reflection of LEAA's overall action goal - the reduction of crime and delinquency. Whereas previous Symposia examined methods of improving the operations of individual components of the criminal justice system, the Fourth Symposium was purposefully designed to look beyond these system components and focus on the goal of crime reduction.

A major conference subtheme was "The Management of Change: Putting Criminal Justice Innovations to Work." The Institute's overall mission is in the area of applied rather than basic research, with special attention being given to research that can be translated into operational terms within a relatively short period of time. We have therefore been interested in exploring the obstacles to the adoption of new technology by criminal justice agencies. Many of the Symposium papers identify these obstacles - attitudinal, organizational, and political - and discuss how they are being overcome in specific agency settings.

The titles of the nine Symposium monographs are: Deterrence of Crime in and Around Residences; Research on the Control of Street Crime; Reducing Court Delay; Prevention of Violence in Correctional Institutions; Re-integration of the Offender into the Community; New Approaches to Diversion and Treatment of Juvenile Offenders; The Change Process in Criminal Justice; Innovation in Law Enforcement, and Progress Report of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals.

The papers in this monograph discuss a variety of approaches to the handling of juvenile offenders, with an emphasis on diverting the juvenile from the criminal justice system. Of particular interest is the paper by the Honorable Francis W. Sargent, Governor of Massachusetts describing that State's program of community-based treatment for juveniles. All of the papers include a discussion of the strategies that are being used to overcome resistance to innovation.

Martin B. Danziger
Assistant Administrator
National Institute of Law Enforcement
and Criminal Justice

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INTRODUCTION

The Fourth National Symposium on Law Enforcement Science and Technology was held in Washington, D.C. on May 1-3, 1972. Like the three previous Symposia, it was sponsored by the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. The Fourth Symposium was conducted by the Institute of Criminal Justice and Criminology of the University of Maryland.

These Symposia are one of the means by which the National Institute strives to achieve the objective of strengthening criminal justice in this country through research and development. The Symposia bring into direct contact the research and development community with the operational personnel of the law enforcement systems. The most recent accomplishments of "science and technology" in the area of criminal justice are presented to operational agencies - law enforcement, courts, and corrections - in a series of workshops and plenary sessions. The give and take of the workshops, followed by informal discussions between the more formal gatherings, provide the scholar and researcher with the all important response and criticism of the practitioner, while the latter has the opportunity to hear the analyst and the planner present the newest suggestions, trends and prospects for the future. In the case of the Fourth Symposium, these opportunities were amply utilized by over 900 participants from across the country.

The specific theme of the Fourth Symposium was "Crime Prevention and Deterrence." The content and the work of the Symposium must be seen against the immediate background of the activities of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, which was appointed several months earlier and by the time of the Symposium was deeply involved in its mammoth task. Another major background factor was the National Conference on Corrections, held in Williamsburg shortly before. More generally, of course, the Symposium was one of many activities in the all-encompassing national effort to reduce crime embodied in the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, and the subsequently established Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

A twelve-member Symposium committee made up of representatives of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the Institute of Criminal Justice and Criminology of the University of Maryland was responsible for planning and arranging the Program. The program, extending over three days, was organized around three daily subthemes which were highlighted in morning plenary sessions. These

subthemes were further explored in papers and discussions grouped around more specific topics in the afternoon workshops.

The first day was one of taking stock of recent accomplishments. Richard A. McGee, President of the American Justice Institute, reviewed the progress of the last five years, and Arthur J. Bilek, Chairman of the Illinois Law Enforcement Commission, addressed himself to criminal justice as a system, the progress made toward coordination, and the ills of a non-system. The six afternoon workshops of the first day dealt with recent accomplishments in prevention and deterrence of crime around residences, violence in correctional institutions, control of street crime, court delay, community involvement in crime prevention, and the reintegration of offenders into the community.

The subtheme of the second day was formulated as "The Management of Change - Putting Innovations to Work." This is a reference to the frequently noted fact that the findings of many research projects all too often do not result in operational implementation, in spite of the funds, energy and competence invested in them. New methods that are adopted often prematurely die on the vine, with the old routines winning out and continuing on as before. The objective of the Symposium sessions was to identify the obstacles to change and to explore ways of overcoming them. Thus two papers given in the morning plenary session by Robert B. Duncan of Northwestern University and John Gardiner of the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice dealt, respectively, with attitudinal and political obstacles to change. The five afternoon workshops developed this theme further by discussing the change process within specific law enforcement and correctional settings. From there attention shifted to the role that public service groups play in the process of change, the pilot cities experience, and the diversion of juvenile offenders from the criminal justice system.

The third day of the Symposium was turned over to the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. The daily subtheme was listed as "Future Priorities." More particularly, however, this was a series of progress reports on the all important activities of the Commission, presented by the Executive Director, Thomas J. Madden, and representatives of the Commission's four Operational Task Forces on standards and goals for police, the courts, corrections, and community crime prevention.

Finally, there was a presentation on the management of change within the eight "Impact Cities" - a major program of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration - by Gerald P. Emmer, Chairman

of LEAA's Office of Inspection and Review.

By reproducing the contributed papers of the Symposium, the Proceedings admirably reflect the current intellectual climate of the criminal justice system in this country. It should be kept in mind that the majority of these papers present the results of research and demonstration projects - many of them experimental and exploratory - which have been funded by State and/or Federal agencies and private functions. Thus these papers do not only reflect the opinions of their authors, but are also indicative of the total climate of action, thought, and quest for new solutions regarding the crime problem in this country.

No reproduction of the papers of a professional meeting can fully reflect the flavor and the total contribution of the event. The questions and remarks from the meeting floor, the discussions in the workshops, the remarks exchanged in the corridors, over meals, or in the rooms of the participants often represent the major accomplishment of such a gathering. New face-to-face contacts and awareness of things done by others - both individuals and agencies - is often the most important byproduct the participant takes home with him. This Symposium was rich in all of this. Close to one thousand persons from all over the country, representing all component elements of the criminal justice system mingled together for three days under the aegis of a major Federal effort to do something about crime and delinquency, which have risen to unprecedented prominence over the last decade. The Symposium provided the needed national forum for all those engaged in the crime prevention and control effort.

Peter P. Lejins, Director
Institute of Criminal Justice and
Criminology
University of Maryland

COMMUNITY-BASED TREATMENT FOR JUVENILES IN MASSACHUSETTS

Francis W. Sargent
Governor of Massachusetts

In an age plagued by soaring crime and riddled with fears, preventing crime must be an activity which involves every citizen. There is no better way to begin than by forming a federal, state, and local partnership to work with the juvenile offender. It is at this level that we have the best hope of success, and it is at the juvenile level where our efforts will pay the greatest dividends for the individual and for society at large.

The necessary ingredients for a productive partnership are a cooperative commitment and the funds to implement the needed changes. Both forms of support are essential if we are ultimately to be successful.

In the commitment we have made in Massachusetts, we are determined to rehabilitate the juvenile offender. We are indebted to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration for the funding support we have received in transforming this goal from a hope into a reality.

A little over two years ago, I recruited a new Commissioner for our Department of Youth Services, Jerome Miller. Dr. Miller

was faced with a department that had operated in the same manner for about 100 years. It was a system very much like many which exist today throughout the country. Under this system, we would take a child who has become involved in trouble, lock him up in a cell, punish him for a period of time, and then send him home to commit another offense. Almost 75 percent of the children who were released fell into that pattern. The fact that the remaining 25 percent did not return to an institution is a miracle . . . for they received no more than custodial care.

Shortly after I took office, I became convinced that there were better ways to deal with juvenile offenders. Programs which would certainly prove more effective than shutting them away in institutions. I felt that a community-based treatment system would provide better rehabilitative services and still cost less to the taxpayers of Massachusetts.

With each new experience, I am more and more convinced that we were right. But, it hasn't been easy. Dr. Miller had to convince his own staff that the community-treatment system was better. We had to embark on a massive public education program. Many people still cling to the myth that walls mean protection for society and for the offender. Notwithstanding this lingering opposition, we have continued to move forward. At this moment, four of our five major state juvenile institutions have been closed.

By the first of July, we will have closed the last one. This will end the use of large, barren facilities to care for youth who need real service.

There will always be a need for some security to protect the community. But, only a very small percentage of the children who are convicted will require such confinement. It is easy to make buildings symbols and to measure success in terms of how many buildings are closed. But, if we fail to provide quality services to youthful offenders in the community setting, we will have failed in our effort to rehabilitate young people.

In Massachusetts, we have viable alternatives to our institutions--alternatives that would not have been possible without the cooperation and support of LEAA. In the past two months, we have opened 13 new group homes. We hope to open seven more in the near future. The concept of group homes has become a reality due to the funding, planning, and technical assistance provided by the Committee on Law Enforcement and Administration of Criminal Justice.

The funds the committee has supplied have provided an increased planning capacity for the Youth Services Department. They have also allowed us to upgrade the management and administrative services offered by the department. The committee has helped develop a model residential youth center for the state. Thanks to the work of that committee, Massachusetts now has its first community-based residential center for girls. Although approximately one-third of

all juvenile crimes are committed by female offenders, there are virtually no community-based services presently available for them.

As we have begun to move toward a community-based program, we have discovered an interesting fact. We can provide better services at lower costs through community programs. Under the old system, we found ourselves supporting an entire system at a level that only a small minority of the population needed. We spent approximately $10,000 a year to keep a child in an institution.

If we invest in a community-treatment program, we can provide individual services, personal counseling, job training, specialized education, and healthy group home settings for about half the cost. Even more important, we can begin to help a child understand his behavior and motivation in an atmosphere of trust and support.

For the child who needs an intensive parole counseling program, the cost is a little over $2,600 per year, per child. A foster home . . . which provides needed parental guidance . . . costs $1,200 per year, per child. For those children who need a group home, the cost is approximately $7,500 a year for each child.

In Massachusetts, however, we have a dual system to treat the juvenile offender. We have the unfortunate distinction of being the only state in the country to send children with educational problems to institutions known as county training schools. These schools were started in 1873 and have not progressed much since. They are filled with children aged 7 to 16 whose only offense is that they were truants. These children are not criminals. None of

them has committed dangerous criminal acts. Rather, these children suffer from behavior problems rooted to social causes. Yet, they are still locked behind walls.

I have tried to forbid the use of these schools in Massachusetts. Under present Massachusetts law, children with behavioral problems may be convicted of six different "crimes"--habitual truant, habitual absentee, habitual school offender, stubborn child, runaway, and wayward child. I have filed legislation to do away with these crimes. Under my proposal, a child who would normally be convicted of one of these so-called offenses will instead receive a civil commitment from a court. My proposal also provides the court with options. All of these options are designed to see that the child gets treatment, not punishment. I am convinced that this system will work.

We have begun to initiate major reforms. But make no mistake, these reforms are not quickly accepted by the public. There are major areas of resistance, but there are also areas of tremendous support. I have been continually encouraged by the local courts, police, and school systems. They have increasingly expressed a willingness to help young offenders re-enter community life. I have been encouraged by the commitment of young people who want to help other young people. In addition, I am grateful to LEAA which has committed over $1 million dollars to assist in the community-based program. These funds have helped us move away from institutions. More importantly, they have allowed us to embark on innovative rehabilitation programs.

We currently have 120 young people participating in a new and exciting program called "parole volunteers." Under this program, a child receives close personal guidance from a college student. The student is paid a nominal salary to maintain a continuing relationship.

It is too soon to tell what long-term effect this new system will have. However, our initial indications are favorable. We are hopeful that a large number of young offenders will turn away from a potential life of crime to become productive citizens of our Commonwealth. The commitment was made possible with the help of LEAA.

But, if we are to continue implementing the community-based concept, we will need even greater commitments and greater federal financial assistance. Eventually, the costs will be cheaper and the rewards greater. The community-based treatment concept can eventually apply not only to juvenile offenders but also to adults as well. In my opinion, it is a new and needed direction for correction in general.

While offenders of different ages have individual needs, there is one need common to them all. They must be assisted in learning to live in their communities. No longer can we continue to close them in institutions that leave them ill-prepared to be responsible citizens when they are released.

I gratefully acknowledge the support that LEAA has given the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Together we have begun to find new solutions to age-old problems. As a result, the future holds great

promise for a breakthrough in the revolving-door syndrom which has plagued the corrections field.

DIVERSION OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS FROM THE JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM

Robert J. Gemignani, Commissioner
Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration
Social and Rehabilitation Service
U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Introduction

This paper discusses a national strategy for the prevention of juvenile delinquency, which has evolved over the past two years.

The broad outlines of the strategy were developed at a meeting called by the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration in early 1970. Those who attended were representative of the professions most concerned about youth problems and included law enforcement officials, educators, sociologists, practitioners and researchers in the fields of juvenile delinquency and youth development. Their recommendations reflected analyses of past failures and successes in juvenile programs and appraisals of the roles of youth in our society today.

Subsequently, the strategy has been refined, and actions designed to implement it have been initiated by the legislative and executive branches of federal and state governments. Pilot programs have been launched in 23 communities throughout the nation. Thirteen additional state-supported systems are being initiated this fiscal year.

The strategy calls for the nationwide establishment of youth services systems which will divert youth, insofar as possible, from the juvenile justice system by providing comprehensive, integrated community-based programs designed to meet the needs of all youth, regardless of who they are or what their individual problems may be.

Although the need for direct work with individuals and families is not overlooked, the national strategy focuses primarily upon creating changes in our social institutions so that they become more effective in providing legitimate roles for all youth.

Included in the paper are current and projected statistics which highlight the need for the strategy, as well as details of the strategy itself and the administrative, fiscal, legislative, and other factors involved in carrying it out.

Scope of the Problem

In 1970, the number of juvenile delinquency cases handled by juvenile courts reached an all time high of 1,052,000. The figure, however, represents only a part of the total number of youth involved in the juvenile justice system. It is estimated, conservatively, that almost 4,000,000 youths had a police contact in 1970, and that 2,000,000 of those contacts resulted in arrests, half of which were referred to juvenile courts. Of the million referred to juvenile courts, about half were counselled and released with no further action; the other half were handled officially through some form of court hearing.

Until 1970, the number of youth processed through juvenile courts was increasing by a higher and higher rate each year. In 1970, however, the rate of increase declined from 10 percent in 1969 to 6 percent in 1970. Although this drop is encouraging, it does not yet indicate a trend; and, therefore, any projection of the extent of the problem that can be prepared at this time must assume a rate of increase of at least two-tenths of a percent each year.

Cost of Juvenile Justice

No precise data on the cost of handling delinquency problems through the juvenile justice system are currently available, although an accurate analysis of such costs is now being undertaken by the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration of the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (YDDPA).

The best figures available at present are based on reports made by states to the YDDPA. Although these are believed to be low, they are the figures used in the following projections of the cost of continuing present methods and the savings that could be expected to result from a concerted effort to divert young people from the juvenile justice system.

These projections indicated that, by 1977, almost $1.5 billion could be saved in official court costs by the adoption of a strategy of diversion. This is not a net savings, of course, because it does not take into account the cost of diversion programs. Tables 1, 2, and 3 show the basis for this estimate of savings.

Table 1

Annual Cost Per Youth Processed Through the Juvenile Justice System

Referral and Intake	$100.00
Probation Service	500.00
Training Schools	5,700.00
Other Residential Commitments (foster care, group homes, halfway houses)	1,500.00

The total costs shown in Table 1 under "Actual Costs in Juvenile Justice System" include intake costs for 100 percent of the cases, the cost of probation service for 25 percent training schools for 10 percent and community services to 10 percent.

Table 2

Estimated Diversion of Youth-Years 1972
(suggested % decrease in rate)

	RATE	% Decrease in rate (from 1972)	Youth in Court Delinquency Cases	Youth Diverted From Court (Projection)
1972 base yr.	3.30	-	1,082,000	
1973 1st yr.	3.23	-2	1,065,000	89,000
1974 2nd yr.	3.10	-6	1,027,000	199,000
1975 3rd yr.	2.90	-12	966,000	333,000
1976 4th yr.	2.70	-18	892,000	463,000
1977 5th yr.	2.50	-25	820,000	590,000

Table 3

Cost Savings of a Suggested Plan of Diversion

Year	Actual Costs in Juvenile Justice System	Diversion Rate	Revised Costs in Juvenile Justice System		Savings
1973	$ 981,000,000	2%	$ 905,000,000	+	$ 76,000,000
1974	1,042,000,000	6%	873,000,000	+	169,000,000
1975	1,104,000,000	12%	821,000,000	+	283,000,000
1976	1,152,000,000	18%	758,000,000	+	394,000,000
1977	1,199,000,000	25%	694,000,000	+	505,000,000
			Cumulative Savings		$1,427,000,000

Alternative Juvenile Prevention Programs

Basically, there are four program approaches which can be chosen for emphasis in planning a strategy for preventing juvenile delinquency:

1. programs based on behavior modification
2. programs based on improving institutional services to delinquents
3. programs based on developing new services and delivery systems to predelinquents and delinquents
4. programs that address themselves to the processes in communities that propel children into the juvenile justice system

The first, which deals with modification of behavior, is extremely limited. It pre-supposes early identification and is a highly individualized and expensive process. Such early identification is developing rapidly, however, and the approach might be used to work with youth already identified as being alienated from the social system.

The second and third programs are approaches that have been and are currently being utilized. They both deal with previous efforts at reform and frequently address themselves to narrow issues such as training of institutional staff, reducing caseloads, and innovative treatment programs. Efforts in thses areas would have a minimal impact because they tend to oversimplify the problem and do not deal with those community processes that are responsible for most delinquency.

The fourth is the strategy discussed in this paper. It is advocated for nationwide adoption because it offers two avenues for diverting young people from the juvenile justice system; first, by

providing prevention programs; and second, by offering community-based rehabilitation programs as alternatives to placement of delinquent youths in traditional correctional facilities.

Strategy Development

The adoption of this strategy was first recommended by a group of national experts who were invited by YDDPA to meet in Scituate, Massachusetts, in June, 1970, to consider how the nation might cope with its juvenile delinquency problem more effectively. A short document produced at that meeting stated:

> We believe that our social institutions are programmed in such a way as to deny large numbers of young people socially acceptable, responsible, and personally gratifying roles. These institutions should seek ways of becoming more responsive to youths' needs.

Any strategy for youth development and delinquency prevention, the statement urged, should give priority to:

> . . . programs which assist institutions to change in ways that provide young people with socially acceptable, responsible, personally gratifying roles and assist young people to assume such roles.

The group's conclusion that the important element in any strategy is institutional rather than individual was based upon the premise that effective youth development programs must start with a consideration of the institutional forces, which impinge on youth and shape their behavior. This was made more explicit in a document, the

"National Strategy for Delinquency Prevention," which evolved after the meeting at Scituate:

> These propositions furnish a basic perspective on the problem of delinquency by linking it firmly to specific types of failure on the part of specific social institutions as they seek to relate to young people, and, in turn, to the negative reactions of young people to such institutions when they find them wanting. It follows from this that the development of a viable national strategy for the prevention and reduction of delinquency rests on the identification, assessment, and alteration of those features of institutional functioning that impede and obstruct a favorable course of youth development for all youths, particularly those whose social situation makes them most prone to the development of delinquent careers and to participation in collective forms of withdrawal and deviancy.

YDDPA Role

The need for centralizing national leadership in advancing the new strategy was early recognized by both the executive and legislative branches of the Federal government as indicated by the following actions.

In 1971, YDDPA analyzed its program and recommended a sharper delineation of the responsibilities assumed by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) of the U. S. Department of Justice and those assumed by YDDPA. As a result, papers were exchanged between the Attorney General and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Both agreed that YDDPA should be the Federal focal point for prevention and rehabilitation activities outside of the juvenile justice system, and that LEAA should perform a similar function in relation to activities within the juvenile justice system.

The House Committee on Education and Labor picked up this new delineation of responsibilities in its report on the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act Amendments of 1971, outlining the YDDPA role as follows:

> The committee suggests that this role be that of funding preventive programs which are administered outside of the tranditional juvenile justice system; that is, the police, the courts, the correctional institutions, detention homes, probation, and parole authorities. These programs might include community-based halfway houses, after school and summer recreation programs, foster home or group home care, youth service bureaus, volunteer programs within schools, or other community services. Such programs would be provided principally for those youths who have not become enmeshed in the traditional juvenile justice system, but they could also be provided for delinquent youth under the control of this system if the service or care itself were not under the direct administrative control of the traditional agencies and institutions. The committee hopes that the department will concentrate its efforts during fiscal 1972 on funding such programs and that this experience will serve as the basis for recommendations for a complete revision of the present Act.

The House report quoted the House Select Committee on Crime, which concluded that the programs under the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act should not be merged with those funded under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act:

> We feel that basic law enforcement techniques are not the correct procedure for dealing with the juvenile delinquency problems confronting us. There must be more understanding, research, conceptualization, and experimentation. Arrest and incarceration are not the answer to juvenile delinquency problems. They have their place, but it is not with young people.

The House report stated the Committee agreed with this view and extended the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act for one year ". . . with the hope that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will concentrate on refocusing it to fulfill the great need for preventive programs. The Committee notes the department's recent efforts at redirecting the program and would hope for a continued interest by the department in the program."

Subsequently, the Senate report on the 1971 amendments pointed to the report on the original Act, which states that the legislation should not be just another categorical program that is administered in relative isolation from much larger efforts such as the community action program, model cities, and the Manpower Development and Training Act. Moreover, the committee called for effective coordination with the Justice Department and asked that programs administered under the Act be used to further coordination, of all government efforts in the area of juvenile delinquency and to provide national leadership in developing new approaches to the problems of juvenile crime.

Prior to the Senate's report, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare had begun coordination efforts with the Department of Justice.

With its responsibilities more clearly defined by both the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Congress, YDDPA adopted the mission of: (1) functioning as the federal focal point for delinquency prevention, helping to achieve coordination, improving

existing programs and developing new programs; (2) acting as a youth advocate and providing technical assistance; and (3) developing youth services systems.

Action Plan

The key factor in implementing a nationwide strategy of institutional change is the establishment of youth services systems. These systems offer comprehensive services to the population at risk and are jointly planned and funded by local, state, and federal agencies, utilizing YDDPA's expertise, its relative neutrality among functional service providers, and some of its leverage money to identify gaps and provide bridges between those service providers. This arrangement makes optimal use of public and private resources. It minimizes the risk of further stigma to the target population by integrating programs that meet their specific needs into services offered to the total youth population.

Federal Coordination

Over the past few years, organizational arrangements have been made within the executive branch of the federal government, which help YDDPA to assure that, while the activities that comprise a youth services system will continue to be supported by various federal agencies, it will be possible for states and communities to pool funds from these federal sources in developing their youth services systems. Many of the necessary services, such as welfare, vocational rehabilitation, medical assistance are administered at the federal level by the Social and Rehabilitation service of the Department of

Health, Education, and Welfare. YDDPA, as a part of that administrative unit, works closely with the other administrations in that unit. Coordination with other parts of HEW and with other federal departments and agencies that administer programs affecting youth is assured by an Interdepartmental Council to Coordinate Juvenile Delinquency Activities in the federal government. This council was formed in 1971, and the YDDPA commissioner serves on it.

The Youth Service Program

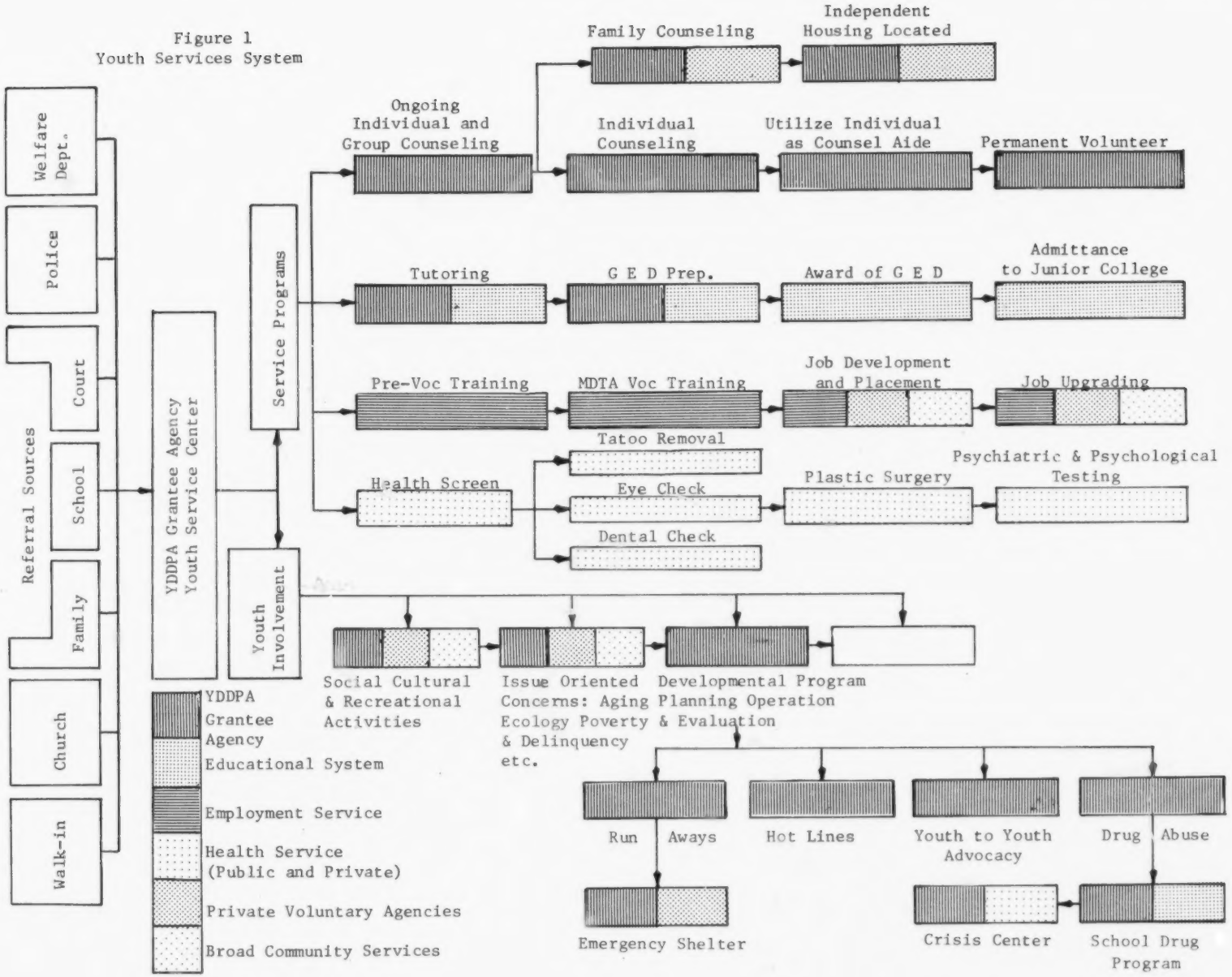
A youth services system serves the youth in this area through a network of coordinated services and a structural or contracted arrangement, which assures adequate delivery of the services to the individual. Figure 1 illustrates a youth services system and its components.

The organizational locus of the program in a community becomes the YDDPA grantee agency. The grantee agency is chosen, in part, because of its ability to: (1) identify services for youth from both the public and private sectors; (2) analyze and relate the goals and capabilities of these resources; and (3) influence the possible redistribution of existing resources and the coordination of new and existing services.

The grantee agency will differ from community to community depending on the position of the agency in relation to the above points. Example of possible types of grantee agencies include:

1. Mayor's office
2. school
3. public welfare department

Figure 1
Youth Services System



4. park and recreation department
5. hospital
6. private agency

Services of a Youth Services System

Remedial services provided by the youth services system include such professional services as individual and family counseling, remedial education, prevocational training, job development and placement, medical and dental examinations, and corrective services, etc. The youth involvement program is essentially youth planned and operated. It includes such services as social, cultural, and recreational activities; involvement in such issue-oriented concerns as ecology, delinquency, poverty, etc., and the involvement in the planning, operation, and evaluation of youth-operated programs, such as those for runaways and drug abusers. The development of hot lines or programs of youth-to-youth advocacy will also be of major concern. Some of these services take place on the grantee's premises. Others are contracted for, and administered by, other agencies. A youngster coming into the system can become involved in either the service programs, or the youth development programs, or both.

Because the service is open to all youngsters, participants have a wide variety of interests and problems with which to become involved. The provision of a vast selection from which a participant can choose coupled with the youth-oriented goals of the program help to give it a positive identification, thus avoiding the imposition of negative labels upon those who use its services.

Example of System in Operation

To show how the Youth Service System actually operates, the following example of service to a 17-year-old boy was drawn from one of the 23 areas that has adopted such a system.

In this case, the mayor's office is the grantee agency. The boy is a school dropout, with no job skills; he is estranged from his family, and experiencing the effects of an overdose of LSD. He refuses traditional professional help. He, however, comes in contact with the project when he calls its youth-manned hot line, reporting that he is on LSD and wants to talk to someone about his problem. A sympathetic youth on the other end of the line talks him into visiting the hot line's adjunct drug-crisis center. The center finds the youth to be under heavy influence of LSD. An ex-addict counselor is brought in to help the youth accept hospitalization. Within a few days of intensive contact with the ex-addict, the young man decides to accept some professional help.

The boy assists in a program developed especially for him by the social worker at the center. It includes counseling for both him and his family; tutoring to prepare him for a GED; prevocational training, and the removal of visible tattoos from his hands. The counseling is rendered by the social worker at the center. The system's central information retrieval bank shows that the parents are already being seen by a local private agency, and a communication on the case is established with that agency. Tutorial services for the GED are supplied by a teacher from the local school assigned to work at the

center. The prevocational training is rendered in the facilities of the local department of employment. The tattoo removal takes place in the plastic surgery clinic of a local private hospital, improving the youth's appearance and self-confidence.

As a result of the counseling program, the young man is able to understand his problems and begin to do something about them. Although a reconciliation with his family is unsuccessful, a suitable independent living arrangement is made in a local boarding house. He is eventually awarded a GED. He gains some vocational skills and through the cooperation of the local chapter of the Junior Chamber of Commerce he is placed on a job. In this case, the young man continues his relationship with the program following his rehabilitation. He donates two nights a week to answering the "hot line" telephone--a service to others that returns great satisfaction to him.

YDDPA helped the local community in planning, developing and financing the youth services system and in making a broad range of community services an integral part of that system.

The State Vocational Rehabilitation Agency sought out and selected this particular community and brought it to YDDPA's attention as a locality where youth and adults had worked together in establishing a hot line. YDDPA's technical and financial assistance helped support the administration of the program and the development of the evaluation component. In addition, YDDPA funds supported the program in the drug crises center as well as the salary for the ex-addict counselor. YDDPA also assisted in developing the system of joint funding. The components of the program were worked out as follows:

1. For the youth hospital service, special educational tutoring, and prevocational training, YDDPA had worked out prior agreements with other units of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Health Services, and Mental Health Administration and the Office of Education, and with the U. S. Department of Labor which facilitated local arrangements.

2. Programs providing plastic surgery, family casework, and employment placement had been developed with YDDPA, providing technical assistance to the local United Way, family service agency, and private hospital.

YDDPA, through its grantee agency, helped to make a big difference in the way this community responds to problems and in the life of the 17-year old youth.

Prior to the establishment of the Youth Services System, the available services for youth in the community were fragmented and lacking in necessary components. There is a hot line program, operated by a local church group. If the 17-year-old boy with the drug problem had called for help, there was no youth-operated drug crisis center to which he could be referred. Even if one had existed, it is doubtful that a working arrangement between such a drug center; and the local hospital would have been made. Further, the ability to coordinate a remedial service program for a multi-problemed family would have been extremely difficult. Such is the reality in the majority of our American communities today.

Eight Characteristics of the System

Youth Services Systems have eight characteristics which help to overcome the most serious deficiencies commonly found in community efforts to serve youth. These characteristics are:

Integrated Services.--In most communities, services for youth are very much fragmented. For example, a family with multiple problems is often seen by several different agencies at the same time. And rarely does one agency know what the other is doing. It is not uncommon for one agency to be working at cross-purposes with another. Agencies funded under a youth services system work together to achieve a common goal, and there must be close and constant communication among these agencies.

Adaptability.--As they are currently operated, many agencies find it difficult to adapt their services to the constantly changing social scene. For example, a project concerned with school truancy and failure may be unable to refocus its services to include the sudden intrusion of a drug abuse problem. Through the interaction of the agencies that comprise the Youth Services System, a viable program evolves, which can meet the needs of youth, regardless of the precipitating problem.

Scope.--A major failure of youth services programs is that they are geared to helping only a segment of the youth population with problems, instead of potentially helping all youth. In some instances, many youngsters are not eligible for services or, when eligible, must become a part of a long waiting list.

A youth services system must have scope, must be able to provide services to all youth within the project area, regardless of who they are and regardless of the type of problems which they have.

In such a system, the youth who just "walks in" is as important as the youth referred by a traditional agency.

Joint Funding.--In order to achieve an effective integration of services, it is necessary to obtain a degree of real commitment from each participating agency in the Youth Services System. It is not merely enough to bring the interested parties together around the meeting table. Rather it is necessary to get a commitment of resources and/or implement a purchase of services plan. For this to be accomplished, the youth services system must be jointly funded to assure that agencies will indeed work together.

Multi-Governmental Participation.--Since most funds are channeled through a variety of state agencies, the development of jointly-funded programs at the local level can be a difficult process. Comprehensive plans, developed by such agencies as the Welfare Department, Department of Vocational Rehabilitation, the Office of Education, the Criminal Justice Planning Agency, and the Department of Mental Health, reflect the local community's basic needs in each respective area. It is, therefore, very important that a youth services system be multi-governmental. It is essential that appropriate state agencies, and their federal counterparts at the regional level be convened formally to aid in developing coordinated youth services and to assure adequate joint funding.

Evaluation and Transfer of Knowledge.--An additional problem with past youth services has been an inadequate capacity for extracting

knowledge. In addition, knowledge that was acquired was usually inadequately transmitted to others. Thus, duplication of effort is often the rule; and one program's errors are repeated by other programs throughout the country.

A critical characteristic, therefore, for a youth services system is its capacity for evaluation and its ability to transfer that knowledge. Much of this evaluation and transfer is being accomplished, but it needs to be greatly augmented nationwide through a strong program of technical assistance at the state and federal levels.

Youth Involvement.--There is a great amount of justified criticism that youth themselves are rarely consulted and utilized in planning and carrying out programs and services that directly affect them. To overcome this weakness, youth, as the consumer, must be heavily involved in all phases of programs that affect them. We must give youth leadership training and important roles to play, both at the program level and at governmental levels.

Use of Advanced Technology.--Technology and new knowledge often fail to be translated rapidly into effective action programs because agencies do not receive the information and technical assistance that will enable them to use the new approaches. One of the great advantages of a nationwide network of youth services systems is that positive results from a program in one areas can more easily be adopted by other states and communities.

Relation to Other Comprehensive Service Systems

In some communities, arrangements have been made to provide comprehensive services within specialized fields. For example, a program for the disabled may be so organized that the agency for the disabled assumes responsibility for seeing that its clients also receive whatever services from other agencies, school, employment agency, etc., are required for their rehabilitation. When a youngster who has been referred to this type of comprehensive service system is also referred to a youth service system, one or the other system assumes full responsibility or an agreement for shared responsibility is reached which coordinates the services of both systems.

YDDPA's Legacy to the Community

Many demonstration projects have resulted in a short-term integration of services. However, when federal funds were no longer available, integration was not maintained. YDDPA wants to institutionalize mechanisms, which do not require the presence of federal funds for thiir continuation. YDDPA's action steps for such insurance are as follows:

1. All programs that provide services under a youth services system will ultimately be accountable to YDDPA's prime grantee. The grantee organization will be responsible for seeing that services are coordinated and that they are comprehensive.

2. YDDPA's prime grantee will also be responsible for seeing that the system performs advocacy functions, seeing that youth's interests and needs are considered in all community planning activities.

3. YDDPA's role in youth services systems is a developmental one. Its financial resources are used as leverage to extract from $3 to $4 for every $1 it invests. YDDPA's dollar essentially buys administration, technical assistance, and program components necessary for inclusion of those youths who are otherwise ineligible for participation in the range of services planned. These costs are to be assumed by the community and state agencies once the system and the cost effectiveness of integrated youth services have been demonstrated.

4. To insure continuity and full integration of youth services, the development process involves not only a joint planning effort among participating service providers, but agreements or contracts for providing services in which specific numbers and types of services are identified and dollars are committed. These agreements may require changes in the respective state plans (e.g., State Welfare Plan, State Criminal Justice Plan). Once in place, however, the service pattern becomes part of approved and continuing state plans under various formula grants. The integrated services plan then becomes institutionalized to the point that it becomes a natural mechanism for accepting general revenue sharing support. YDDPA's prime grantee is responsible for planning and monitoring the efforts to assure that the agreements for services and dollars are honored.

Measurable Objectives

The decision to adopt a nationwide strategy focused upon institutional change and to use youth services systems as the instrument for carrying out this strategy was based upon thoughtful analyses of the deficiencies of present efforts to curb delinquency and careful appraisals of the potentialities of the new approach.

However, the actual value of this approach can only be determined by setting forth clear and specific objectives that the system must achieve if it is to be counted a success and by devising ways of measuring the extent to which those objectives are being reached.

The objectives decided upon and the methods to be used to measure their achievement are as follows:

1. Divert Youth Away from the Juvenile Justice System into Alternate Programs

   The measure for this objective will be a statistical procedure reflecting a reduction in the annual rate of referrals to juvenile courts. The objective will be assumed to be achieved if a two percent reduction in the rate of those referrals is achieved in FY '72 in 13 selected youth services systems funded by YDDPA. It is recognized that a two percent reduction in the referral rate could occur from causes other than the youth services system. However, YDDPA is promoting research studies into methodology, which will control factors causing variations in delinquency rates other than development of youth services systems. These methodologies will be applied in future measurements. Given an increased level of funding, the two percent reduction in the referral rate will become a national objective for FY '73, increasing by FY '77 to a 25 percent reduction in the nationwide referral rate.

   Diversion is the primary objective, but the other three objectives, closely related to it, must also be achieved if the strategy is to be fully effective.

2. Reduce Youth-Adult Alienation

   Criterion measurements for this objective are in the process of assembly and development. The measures of a reduction in alienation will necessarily be a part of each program's

internal monitoring system and will apply to observed behavioral patterns of the youth being served in that system. The assumption is that a reduction in youth-adult alienation will bring about an increased participation by youth in the total community's activities and will be reflected in lower rates of official delinquency.

3. Provide more Socially Acceptable and Meaningful Roles for Youth

One of the reasons why most youth don't get into trouble is that they have access to a variety of positive, socially acceptable roles such as student, family member, peer group member, club group member, employee, etc. The community process opens up progressively wider roles for youth as they successfully perform their present role functions. It is at the point where the denial of access to increasingly responsible roles occurs that delinquency is more apt to become an option. The denial of completing the student role (i.e. suspension from high school or dropping out) makes it extremely difficult for the ex-student to fulfill the employee role since a high school diploma is a bare-bones requirement for most jobs. In addition, the loss of the student role creates a strain on the existing family roles, peer group roles and club group roles which often results in the process of alienation from those social institutions which have in effect "closed their doors."

A program-by-program analysis will be completed which will indicate whether the Youth Services System succeeds in providing the socially acceptable roles that are necessary to "make it" in our society. Criteria are: the reduction of dropout rates, the opening of job opportunities, the process of youth involvement and participation in community life.

4. Eliminate the Labeling of Youth That Creates Negative Consequences

A great deal of interest has legitimately been generated over the process of labeling,

particularly the labeling that attaches a stigma. The process of searching for an approach to eliminate the negative labeling of youth leads directly to those agencies and institutions which apply the lables, most notably the schools, welfare departments, juvenile courts, employment services, and some private agencies that stress eligibility determinations. An evaluative paradox occurs, for instance, in the schools; special dropouts prevention programs have been instituted which in themselves denote a very positive effort. Nevertheless, the programs rely on certain predictors, which identify potential dropouts for special services. In effect, the children and youth selected for special services to keep them in school are labeled as potential dropouts and very shortly their peers are aware of the distinction despite official silence.

Labeling that occurs at the juvenile court is being addressed by YDDPA's efforts to divert youth away from the court and the subsequent "delinquent" lable. The problem still to be addressed is how to provide alternative youth services that do not label by their presence in the community. YDDPA's comprehensive youth services systems, with a wide range of participants, not just delinquent or predelinquent youth, offer a viable alternative. The measurement problem in this area is a field of conceptual exploration at present, to be followed by formal research in the future.

Objectives of YDDPA

While measurement of the above objectives requires the cooperative efforts of communities and state and federal governments, there are additional objectives YDDPA should meet if it is to fulfill its role as the focal point for federal leadership and for the coordination of federal programs relating to juvenile delinquency. These objectives are:

1. Assist States in drafting legislation to allow for the differential handling of status offenders; prohibit their co-mingling with delinquent youth; and develop necessary services and facilities outside of the juvenile justice system.

   There is a growing concern over the handling of juvenile status offenders alongside juvenile felony offenders. It is evidenced that such offenses as truancy, curfew violations, incorrigibility, runaways, etc., can be best cared for outside of the juvenile correctional system and that youth referred for status offenses should not be committed to facilities or institutions for delinquent youth.

   The measure of this objective will be a count of how many states are able to utilize YDDPA's assistance and begin the legislative process.

2. Generate $3.00 of program funds for each $1.00 YDDPA grants to a youth service system.

   The utilization of YDDPA funds as "seed money" and "gap-bridging money" to entice other sources of funds means that many program objectives are dependent on other agencies' funds for fulfillment. YDDPA is extremely vulnerable to the changing priorities of other agencies and to the delays and constraints of local, state, regional, and central office administrations. YDDPA has nevertheless accepted that vulnerability and will utilize its role as the designee to the interdepartmental council to coordinate all juvenile delinquency programs to strenghten its knowledge base and to encourage other departments to participate in the development of youth services systems.

   The measure of this objective will be based on local, state and other federal contributions plus the contribution of the private sector, profit and/or non-profit.

3. Create an inter-agency council which will collect and analyze the objectives of three HEW agencies (The Office of Education, the Health Services and Mental Health Administration, and the Office of Community Development) in order to identify those which are specifically related to objectives of YDDPA and to the juvenile delinquency objectives of other Administrations in the Social and Rehabilitation Service.

   The purpose of this objective is to develop a coordinated plan, whereby these agencies of HEW sill assist a specific number of communities in developing youth services systems. The measurement of progress in this objective will include: the identification of common objectives, the development of a coordinated plan, completion of joint funding arrangements and selection of communities in which the HEW program will be implemented.

   YDDPA has already begun work with these agencies on a related matter; the promotion of a full range of research related to evaluation and the development of better measurement criteria. The Office of Research and Demonstrations of the Social and Rehabilitation Service is particularly involved in this effort.

YDDPA Progress Report

YDDPA began to change program direction from small categorical grants in state planning, prevention, and rehabilitation to a comprehensive delinquency prevention approach at the beginning of FY '71. The national strategy for delinquency prevention has since been the basis for planning and funding youth services systems. Systems development has been supplemented by state studies, guidelines and models, leadership training, and training to develop coalitions supporting youth services systems. Simultaneously, major evaluation and management information technology has been developed.

A summary of program progress includes:

Systems Developed

1. YDDPA developed 23 delinquency prevention systems in FY '71 involving federal, state and local planning and multi-agency funding.

The majority are located in model cities areas with high rates of delinquency and overwhelmed social services. Three systems are located in suburban areas, and one is a statewide rural system.

Ten to fifteen percent of grant funds are spent for evaluation. In addition, a national evaluation technology is being developed by the University of Southern California; and Optimum Computer labs is developing a system to provide feedback of program information and statistical data. These will measure progress and problems related to reaching objectives. The product of these two projects will assist YDDPA in providing technical assistance to grantees as needed and will provide material for extension of systems.

2. Plans have been developed for the funding of 10 statewide youth services systems in FY '72. An additional 10 states have indicated an interest in developing such systems.

Institutional Reform--New Roles for Youth

Few youth participate in states' planning processes. One of the premises of YDDPA's strategy is that youth input may update and enhance state planning for services, which will reduce youth alienation. To test this, two youths were nominated by the governor of each state to participate in training conferences to familiarize them with planning concepts. Each governor then agreed to assist the youths

in finding new roles in state planning mechanisms. Reports from governors, youth participants, and conference evaluators have been positive. Follow-up regional training for the youths and state planners is scheduled.

Youth Organizations United, a national program to provide technical assistance and a resource inventory to approximately 350 inner-city gangs affiliated with the national organization, is partially supported by federal funds. During the first year, the program suggested that the effectiveness of the funding would be improved if selected YOU members were given assistance in learning how to develop new resources and make constructive use of existing ones. YDDPA and the Department of Labor are currently funding a Leadership Training Institute for YOU delegate officers, and the Office of Economic Opportunity has indicated an interest in participating in the project.

Institutional Reform--Legislation

Many state governors are concerned about problems in juvenile justice. A study has been completed by YDDPA for the Governor of Utah on the state's juvenile justice system. It included recommendations for increased diversion and improved effectivenss of community resources. The governor plans to use the study for recommendations to the legislature on new youth legislation. Another governor has requested a similar study for the same purpose.

Because of the growing demand for this type of technical assistance, YDDPA completed a publication on model state legislation on juvenile delinquency. It has also begun work on a publication on model state legislation to reclassify juvenile status offenses.

DIVERSION: NEW LABEL--OLD PRACTICE

Robert L. Smith
Chief of Planning
California Youth Authority

Introduction

The diversion of persons from the criminal justice system is both an old and a traditional practice in the United States. The very nature of the justice system, in fact, requires that considerable discretion be used by those operating the various component parts of the system if the system is not to be "swamped" by its own activity.

Informal preadjudication dispositions, diversion, occur in both the juvenile and adult justice system for many of the same reasons. First, even with the best legislative formulation, definitions of criminal conduct are likely to be ambiguous. The decision to divert individuals from the system is affected by many factors, including the nature of the offense, the circumstances of its commission, the attitude of the victim, and the character and social status of the accused.

The use of discretion is encouraged by the stigma associated with official processing. Stigma may seriously limit the accused's

social and economic opportunity or impose upon him deviant roles leading to further antisocial acts. Finally, the volume of cases processed is so large as to require some screening of less serious offenders in order to allow a concentration of law enforcement, the courts, and correctional resources on other cases.

The issue of screening cases has gained tremendous popularity in recent years and has gained the most attention around the area of minor non-criminal or delinquent behavior or adult conduct which might be more appropriately handled by social agencies, public health authorities, etc. While it is clear that considerable numbers of persons are diverted from the criminal justice system as a result of official discretion, the assumption that less serious offenders are screened out is questionable. Arrest data and court statistics suggest that most of the cases in the criminal courts consist of what are essentially violations of moral norms or instances of annoying behavior rather than dangerous crimes. When diversion does occur, its use is so informal and lacking in direction that chance rather than choice seems to be the determinant.

Probably, the most significant contribution to the field of criminal justice today would be the development of a scheme that systematically and on a selected basis effectively screened subjects out of the criminal justice system in terms of their

real danger to society rather than the prejudices of individual members of the justice system.

The Argument for Diversion

Essentially, the argument for diversion is a negative argument against the existing system. The assumption is that the present justice system is sufficiently bad that any alternative for diverting offenders away from it is better than any that will move the offender further into it. In the current literature and knowledge in the field, there is evidence to support this assumption; but, if the justice system is to become rational, we need a method or process by which we make logical and rational choices to exclude offenders who truly do not need the services and resources of the justice system agencies.

Diversion from the criminal justice system, whether by policy or case-by-case exceptions to the rules, occurs primarily because of our official concern that the justice and correctional process may contaminate rather than rehabilitate the offender.

Although many of the diversion programs of the past are based on humanitarian interests, experience has demonstrated that humanitarian intentions alone do not guarantee either more humane treatment or

more successful rehabilitation. Juvenile court procedures were established to divert children and youth from a criminal justice system; yet, it has been found to infringe on the rights of the child and involve problems of stigma equal to those associated with a criminal record.

There is ample evidence from current research to suggest that many of the correctional problems, including delinquency, result from a cultural intolerance of diversity and variability and the overly restrictive boundaries that are placed on acceptable behavior. An understanding of this basic intolerance of diversity is increasingly apparent in the United States today. It is a prerequisite to the recognition of the major weakness in our efforts to prevent and control crime and especially in the current emphasis on diverting offenders from the criminal justice system to agencies of civil and social control. Criminal statutes may be revised to legalize public drunkenness, vagrancy, victims of sex offenses, etc. Control and surveillance of minor violations may be achieved without arrest, and health and welfare services may be made accessible to those who need them. All such measures may result in fewer persons entering the criminal justice system, but as long as the mainstream of America views deviation narrowly as evidence of pathology requiring some form of control, whether punitive or rehabilitative, diversion is likely to remain largely a technique of enforcing conformity by alternative means.

The Dilemma of the Treatment Model

One of the interesting dilemas of our times relates to the justice system and the correctional system "buying into" the medical treatment model. Tremendous pressure, via the institutional nature of our operation, is put on staff and resources to offer "treatment" to those persons who are made subject to our care. As a result of the assumption that all persons who find themselves within the correctional system are necessarily in need of help or "treatment", many persons argue that one cannot have a diversionary program without, in fact, having a program. A classic example relates to the discussions that go on about children with delinquent tendencies, persons in need of supervision, children in need of supervision, etc. Most people are in agreement that these individuals should not be subjected to the "help" of the correctional justice system; yet, these same people are not willing to remove them from the system through legislation until such a time as there is another alternative treatment system to help the subjects. It would seem that we are caught in our own arguments. It might be interesting to speculate that many of the problems presented by the people with whom we work are the result of our own perceptions, rather than real problems experienced by the child or the person under supervision. There is research evidence to support the case that many of those people we now serve do as well without help as they do with it. It is highly likely that we could divert a great many more people from our system if we were not trapped

with the belief that all of those committed to our care must be helped. If there are alternatives, we are willing to consider them. In fact, programs of this nature divert far larger numbers of people from the system than do the treatment programs we now offer.

The structural and procedural systems that society has established to deal with its problem segments have two built-in patterns that tend to be self-defeating. First, the offender is identified and labeled. As he is labeled, certain sanctions are imposed; a certain critical stance is assumed. The sanctions and the stance tend to convince the offender that he is a deviant, that he is different, and to confirm any doubts he may have had about his capacity to function in the manner of the majority. Further, as the label is more securely fixed, society's agencies, police, school, etc., lower their level of tolerance of any further deviance. The curfew violator who is an identified parolee may go into detention; the non-labeled offender will frequently go home. The misbehaving probationer will be remanded to the vice-principal's office faster than his non-probationer fellow. As these distinctions are made, the offender is further convinced of his difference and of society's discrimination.

Secondly, as the deviance continues and the offender penetrates further into the correctional apparatus, he is subjected to an increasing degree of segregation with others of his kind. From special

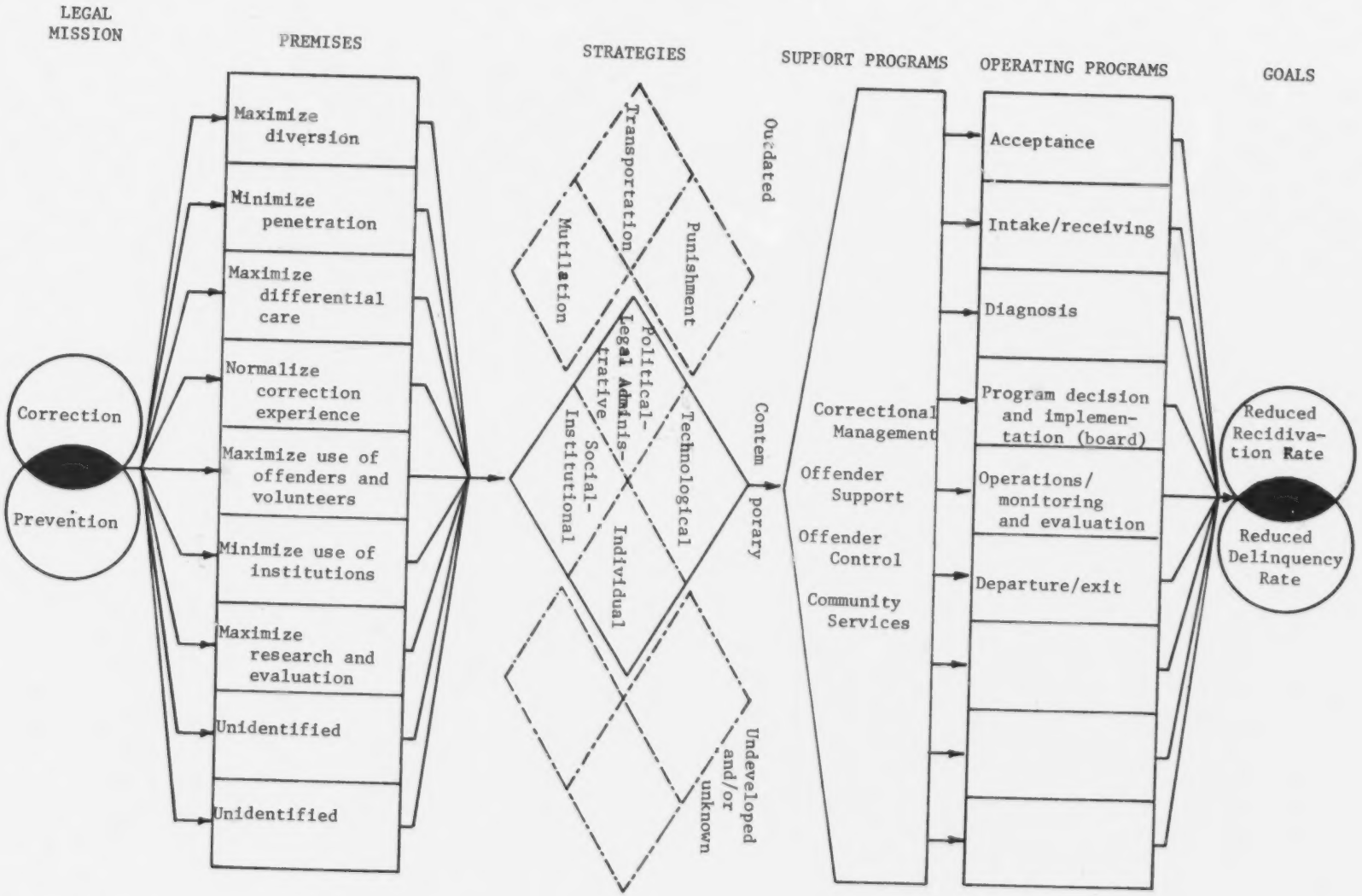
school, to local detention, to institutionalization, to state institutions, each step invites further identification with the subculture of the criminal or delinquent. So again, his anti-adult, anti-social peer-oriented values are reinforced and confirmed; and the positive social-producing influences of the majority society are removed further from him. As the system's treatment is intensified so, too, is the rejection, both covert and overt, and as we try harder to socialize the deviant, we remove him further from the normal socializing process.

To the extent that the foregoing has validity, a counter-strategy presents itself. Our objective should be the minimization of the offender's penetration into the correctional process. To this end, we must explore all the available alternatives at each decision point; i.e., arrest, detention, jail, court wardship, conviction, commitment, probation, parole, and ultimately even revocation. At each critical step, we should exhaust the less rejecting, less stigmatizing recourses before taking the next expulsive step.

Premises for Planning

In the case of my own department, we have found it necessary to distinguish between the concepts of diversion and minimizing penetration into the system. We conceive of diversion as an act directing a potential offender away from and not out of the system. We find that the concept of minimizing penetration into the system better describes

DEPARTMENT OF THE YOUTH AUTHORITY LONG RANGE PLANNING SCHEMA
April 12, 1971
Sacramento, California



our interest in the various forms of actions or interventions frequently described as diversion since it opens up opportunities for reform deep within the system.

In carrying out the two complementary goals of correction and prevention, the California Youth Authority utilizes one or more of a series of premises related to both the criminal justice and correctional system to establish operational objectives and programs. These premises are not mutually exclusive categories; on the contrary, they overlap by intent since the greater the overlap, the more likely programs provided under the premise will have positive effects for the offender.

These premises are founded on some research findings, but they are primarily based on a composite of the best thinking and opinion existing among correctional practitioners and criminologists. They represent the conceptual framework and guide used for comprehensive program planning by the Department of the Youth Authority. They are a live and organic part of the department that is subject to constant growth and change based on increased knowledge and experience.

Divert from the System*

The generally negative effect on the criminal justice system, as it currently operates, is such that every reasonable effort must

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* System, as used in this document, refers to a regularly interacting or interdependent group of activities associated with arrest, prosecution, judgement, and correction of persons found to have violeted local, state, or federal laws. Criminal justice system includes at least three components: (a) law enforcement; (b) the courts; and (c) correctional agencies.

be made to divert individuals or children at risk away from and into other resources for social control, assistance, or treatment. Implicit in this concept is the necessity for promoting and supporting the development of community resources capable of meeting the needs and resolving the problems of those diverted. In addition, the department must take whatever leadership role is necessary to develop new legislation or to change existing legislation that does not further the objectives related to diversion. The premise of diversion is basically one of prevention since it deals with those who have not yet become subject to the control of agencies of the criminal justice or correctional system.

Minimize Penetration

The deeper an offender penetrates the existing criminal justice system and the more frequently he is recycled through it, the greater is the probability that he will continue his criminal activity. Implicit in this premise is the requirement to develop greater numbers of dispositional alternatives for each step in the justice system process. The availability of multiple alternatives for decision makers at every step in the process will increase the probability that an offender's penetration into the system will be minimized. It is probably in this area as much as any other that correctional agencies have the opportunity to exercise political, legal, and administrative strategies to change the character of justice and correctional processes.

Maximize Capacity for Differential Care, Treatment and Custody

A correctional agency must develop a capacity for differential diagnosis and care. It is the first step in choosing which one of the various correctional alternatives is most appropriate for a given offender. Implicit here is the need for a system or methods for consciously sorting offenders in terms of their relative need or lack of same for treatment and control. Also, implied is the development of techniques for control and treatment that are specific to each category or class of problem presented by an offender needing help and a capacity on the part of management to help in the development of programs that achieve these objectives.

Normalize Correctional Experience

Every effort should be made to make the offender's retraining or correctional experience as normal as time, resources, public attitude, and imagination permit. Rehabilitation and integration objectives are enhanced if the client can be programmed at, or close to, his home, family, and community. One of the most damaging criticisms of the correctional system is that it institutionalizes offenders, sheltering, and protecting them from the realities of the world and socially isolating them from their "real life" community. Implicit in this statement is the need for a flexible rehabilitation program, individualized training experiences, and consideration for the privacy and involvement of the offender wherever possible in the process of making decisions related to his own social restoration.

Maximize the Involvement of Volunteers and Offenders as Agents of Change

Rehabilitation in any real sense will be achieved through the utilization of the effect of the social control that can be asserted by the offender's community, his family, his friends, and his immediate associates. Utilizing the offender or the volunteer as an agent of change provides offenders and others with the opportunity for new role definitions and life styles that have consequences for both the treater and the treated. Implicit here is the willingness of formally established correctional agencies to actively engage offenders and volunteers in the process of rehabilitation through helping others. Further, it affords agencies with the courage of their convictions the opportunity to initiate new career opportunities for offenders and others.

Minimize Time in Correctional System

If the threat of contamination of the unsophisticated by the sophisticated is real; if the system is, as has been suggested by most authorities, criminogenic; if abnormal routines become more deeply ingrained with the passage of time and make ultimate adjustment difficult, then it follows that each individual offender should be kept in the system for the shortest possible period of time commensurate with his problems and needs. Implicit here is the need for "speeding up" the time allotted for the correctional process, while at the same time intensifying and making more effective correctional

services provided. This can be facilitated by setting specific objectives to be achieved by both the offenders and those who are correcting him. When institutionalization is necessary, it should not exceed the amount of time necessary to start the process of behavioral change; when supervised care is necessary, it should not extend beyond the point when the offender has gained the capacity to control and manage his own behavior in legally accepted ways.

Maximize Research and Evaluation for Feedback and Organizational Change

It has been said with considerable validity that correctional programs are largely compounded of a mixture of precedent, hunch and prejudice. Against this backdrop, we have encouraged a variety of treatment fads; some have persisted; others have expired. Correctional treatment processes or programs do not easily lend themselves to accurate effectiveness measures, and the relative newness of the art has not allowed for the development of skills or the standardization of method. The presence of these very real problems cannot justify a continued failure to try. Implicit in this statement is the conviction that even crude measures, if objectively derived, are better than precedent, hunch, and prejudice. Programs that involve evaluation and effective feedback are requisites for effective organizational growth and development, particularly if corrections is to ever become a science and not remain a primitive art.

Implicit in the premises outlined is the assumption that the present correctional system is not as effective as we would like it to be; further, that every effort should be made to proliferate the number of dispositional alternatives available at every step within the correctional or justice system process--divert from the system if you will! Essentially, we are arguing that those enmeshed in the justice system, or in the correctional system, should proceed into that system only as far as it is absolutely necessary to bring about their social restorations.

Strategies for Action

In designing programs to carry out the objectives or premises outlined, there are a number of strategies available beyond the traditional ones of individual and group treatment. For the sake of discussion, let me suggest the following.

Law Change Strategies

Law change strategies constitute an important and far-reaching tool for prevention and correctional programs. The definition of what constitutes crime is a critical factor in determining correctional workloads and, hence, the system's capability for fulfilling its mission. The American propensity for defining as criminal a wide range of disapproved behavior is currently being subjected to question. Oddly, however, many correctional administrators appear to view these questions as outside of their correctional province. We argue and suggest that they are not. Further, in the case of our own state, a substantial change was effected by a legislative change which authorized a probation subsidy. The dramatic reduction in sentencing to state correctional institutions is clearly the product of this change in statute.

Program Policy Strategies

Program policy strategies are at times as important as the law itself in determining who shall become subject to the justice system process. Police, prosecutors, and probation intake workers have, and exercise, wide discretion in selecting individuals for system processing. Studies of these administrative decision processes reveal wide discrepancy in variations from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, or even within jurisdictions, as to how the law is interpreted. The inconsistencies are apparent at every decision point, whether the decisions are administrative or of judicial character. Thus, gross adjustments in workloads and, hence, expenditures can be effected by the reshaping of policy formulations of the departments constituting the components of the justice and correctional system.

Administrative Policy

Administrative policies, as distinguished from decision policies, can affect major changes in programs and procedures, frequently without additional cost. It is largely administrative policy that determines how the available resources are distributed over the various functions of an agency. Perceived needs of the administration and the judiciary frequently commit substantial portions of staff resources to functions that have little or no impact on the objectives defined. Thus, periodic reexamination and redefinition of administrative policies and procedures would seem clearly indicated as a part of any attempt to increase the numbers of persons diverted away from the system or screened out of it by processes that minimize penetration.

Individual and Group Treatment Strategies

Individual and group treatment strategies have traditionally been the principle method by which corrections seeks to achieve its several objectives. Encompassed here are all of the clinical, casework, and group therapy programs that form the core of correctional program efforts. The concept that the problem resides exclusively in the offender is a position that is increasingly being rejected for a more enlightened position that recognizes the power and influence of the ghetto, social, and economic pressures, and the quality of life available to those individuals who make up the correctional caseload.

Technological Strategies

Technology is probably one of the most underused strategies available for both corrections and prevention. The field is simply not fully utilizing technology to prevent, control, change, or modify the nature and extent of illegal or unacceptable behavior. Examples of crime control in this area would include such diverse things as safe auto locks, street lighting, good architectural design, no-change practices on busses, and drop safes on busses and taxis. In the area of behavior, we have a whole range of chemotherapy, surgery, etc., that we seldom use. The range of possibilities is increasing, yet, corrections, and those interested in operating programs of prevention, are utilizing only a small portion of the technological skills that we now have available. Ignorance is in part an explanation, but fear of the machine, fear of objective programming tends to make cowards of us all.

Social-Institutional Strategies

This strategy we use sparingly since it involves political activity, an area in which most of us are a bit shy. Strategies in this area are aimed at changing, shoring up, modifying, and improving the community and its institutions, particularly those that are criminogenic and are known to contribute to illegal behavior. Normally, correctional personnel point to the failure of the school, the church, or the family as the reason for the problems presented by the offender; yet, correctional agencies seldom actively support institutional change in these systems, even though support might be positive; i.e., political support on bond issues, the election, etc. By institutional change, we are not speaking of only new programs; we also are addressing ourselves to changes in the existing system--the way in which business now is conducted. For instance, small class size is not an institutional change. Parent participation in teaching and selection of faculty is! It is a touchy strategy since it applies to correctional practices, as well as to community programs. It requires change; it requires political activity; and, hence, it is regarded as dangerous by some of those who have responsibilities in this field. Occasionally, however, we do follow our convictions: probation subsidy is an example of institutional change that effects both the community and correctional institutions. It is the result of political action that brings about legislative change.

Each of the above strategies can be used to reduce the incidence of different forms of criminal or delinquent behavior or to divert people

from the system. The degree to which a given strategy is appropriate for prevention differs from one form of behavior to another, but it is not uncommon to find that several strategies can be used simultaneously to prevent or reduce the incidence of specific kinds of illegal behavior. The important issue is that correctional agencies must be willing to consider and test all of those strategies which seem appropriate for preventing, controlling, or correcting further criminal or delinquent behavior.

Summary

Essentially, I have attempted to outline a series of program premises and strategies which enable components of the justice system to distinguish between programs which minimize penetration into the system from those that divert persons away from the system. The first activity is generally more descriptive of that which we label as diversionary practices than is the latter. The latter activity is primarily a preventive program and one wherein help or assistance is offered to those who are at risk of becoming either dependent or in need of social controls exercised by public agencies.

I have not attempted to itemize the various kinds of diversionary programs that are frequently talked about today since I assume my colleagues on the panel will discuss many of these models in detail. Exciting as some of these very successful programs are, I would caution that their ultimate impact is limited and that their effect could be multiplied, without programs in many cases, by simple administrative decree, judicial action, or legislative change.

Diversion has become the order of the day since it is a stylish program to which many of us can affix our loyalties. I would not be honest, however, if I did not suggest that I am more concerned with directing some of our attention and efforts to prevention programs that do not prevent and to correcting the inequities, the injustices of the correctional systems that do not correct, and the rehabilitation programs that do not rehabilitate. We need to do more than simply acknowledge that the present system is bad, therefore, any alternative is better than using the existing system. Perhaps, we need to correct the inequities and ineffectiveness of that system rather than circumvent them. Indeed, the greatest single contribution that diversion might make during the next decade is to make us more conscious of our deficiencies and sufficiently sensitive to them that we will force corrective changes within the system so that truly we will achieve prevention and social restoration for offenders rather than criminal contamination.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN DIVERTING JUVENILE OFFENDERS FROM THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM TO HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND TREATMENT PROGRAMS

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Within agencies of the criminal justice system, there is a growing concern for providing programs which will be more effective in the rehabilitation of criminals than the presently accepted methods. With a national recidivism rate of approximately 65 to 70 percent, it is apparent that the modalities of incarceration and parole are not effectively changing the behavior patterns of convicted criminals.

Recently, Judge David Bazelon (see Pratt, 1972) criticized the rehabilitation programs that do exist within the criminal justice system. He stated that the medical model, as applied to criminals,

has not been effective and that rehabilitation programs have not produced significant changes. In his speech to the conference in "Examining Psychologists' Roles and Contributions in Corrections," he challenged psychologists and other professionals in the correctional system to reevaluate and suggest changes in methods.

A number of new directions are being established and seem to be effective. Dr. Emery F. Hodges researched the results of the first eleven years of Maryland's defective delinquent law. The statute provides for the indefinite confinement of chronic and compulsive lawbreakers for psychiatric rehabilitation even though they are judged legally sane. Defective delinquents are considered patients by the state of Maryland and are treated through therapy and counseling at Patuxent Institution in Jessup. Basically, Dr. Hodges (Psychiatric News, July 7, 1971) identified three groups of criminals or defective delinquents: (1) an untreated control group, (2) a partially treated group, and (3) a fully treated group. Within these groups, recidivism occurred at a rate of 81 percent in the untreated group, 71 percent in the partially treated group, and 37 percent in the fully treated group. It is apparent that treatment made a significant difference in the post-release behaviors of the criminals investigated.

Another approach linking law enforcement and mental health professionals is a team policing project which is a contractual relationships between the Dayton, Ohio, Police Department and a local community health center in Dayton. The contract provides for 'on call' intervention services for the full range of problems with mental

health implications . . . . The major objective of the project is to test the effectiveness of a generalist approach of police services; to produce a community-centered police structure responsive to neighborhood concerns; and to alter the bureaucratic structure of police organizations away from the militaristic model toward a neighborhood-oriented professional model. The project involves approximately forty-five police officers, plus community service officers, and neighborhood assistance officers . . . (Psychiatric News, August 18, 1971). The police officers have access to the comprehensive mental health services by calling the staff or by taking the person to the center. Two staff members are on duty during the night and on weekends, providing twenty-four hour, seven day per week coverage.

The relationship between the Dayton police and the community mental health center seems to be a viable one, but it is probably atypical in that police departments, in general, are not working closely with mental health agencies and the community health centers are being criticized for often badly treating consumers, especially those who are poor members of minority groups.

Behavior Today (March 13, 1972) summarized several evaluations of community mental health centers; indications are that social and educational services are often not available to the poor. Funds, especially federal funds, have tended to dry up before the centers could prove their effectiveness to local and state funding sources. Many centers are not readily accessible to the public or other community care providers. Continuity of care is not often provided. Very few centers offer comprehensive children's services.

As the Pasadena Police Department went through a reorganization of its juvenile section, they found similar problems in obtaining mental health services for juvenile offenders. Community-based, tax-supported organizations, as well as private doctors, hospitals, and clinics, were found to be very reluctant or unable to accept referrals of persons who were in low income brackets, those covered by Medi-Cal insurance, and non-whites who were in need of emergency services, or involved in criminal activities. A look at the new directions the Pasadena Police Department is taking supports the need for this community-based care being made available to the individuals mentioned above.

In 1968, the present Chief, Deputy Chief, and others recognized that the historical method of dealing with the city's troubled children was inefficient and ineffectual. Under their leadership, the department has undergone a thorough and extensive reorganization. As a result, a professionally trained and experienced counselor was retained as the Youth Services Coordinator; and the newly designated Youth Services Unit was relieved of all investigative duties. Criminal investigations, regardless of the age of the suspect(s), are now handled by both uniformed and detective personnel.

The Youth Services Unit, under the direction of the coordinator and the unit sergeant, is responsible for the effective disposition of all juvenile cases referred to the unit. Staff members have retained all of the options formerly open to them. They can still refer cases to the Probation Department, Department of Public Social

Services, or the courts. They can still engage in short term "counsel and release" activities, etc. However, a number of new tools have been added to their repertoire. An example of these are the Intensive Care Cases. When a child is accepted into the Intensive Care Caseload, he is assigned to work with any one of five police agents. These agents are skilled, trained personnel with years of experience in working with young people. The agent assigned begins to work on a one-to-one basis with the client in lieu of the usual court appearance and sentencing. The agent has a two-fold responsibility with regard to the client assigned to him.

First, the agent acts as an "informal probation officer." Recognizing our responsibility to the greater community, the authors are aware of the need to see that their clients refrain from further delinquent behavior. It is planned that a personal relationship develop between the agent and the client, and steps are constantly being taken to achieve this end. The agent then becomes an effective "treator" and a "helping person" to the client. The second responsibility of the agent is to act as a "treatment catalyst." That is, he is responsible, with the help of the Youth Services Coordinator, for developing a rich, effective, community-based treatment plan, especially designed to meet the particular needs of each client in his caseload.

The agent and the client work closely with one another. The agent contacts the family of each client in his caseload, and as a member of the police department, concerned with their child's well

being, elicits the family's support. In a surprising number of cases, families are only too happy to be receiving help. The agent and family share knowledge and insights regarding the client. Other areas of the treatment plan are discussed; and hopefully, the family and client begin to work on, and perhaps, solve some of their existing problems.

The next progression involves the schools. Kids in "trouble" with the police are often in "trouble at school." The agent, working with school officials, uncovers a significant person within the school setting who is able and willing to work closely with the agent and client. Through this involvement in the treatment program, it is felt that the client will begin to experience more positive input from the school; and the school will begin to view the child as something other than just another "trouble maker."

The community-based social service agencies are the next people to become involved with the client. These agencies may provide supportive family counseling, medical services, pre-natal, or family planning services for the client or his family, welfare information or services, educational counseling or tutoring, or any number of other social services.

A number of consulting psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers are at the disposal of the unit and the agents. These consultants provide psychiatric or psychological work-ups, treatment recommendations, counseling services, in-service training, aptitude and I.Q. testing, and specific case consultation. By the nature of

their duties they are, of course, another positive helping force at work on the client's behalf.

Finally, the client may have the opportunity to participate in one of the "In House" Group Psychotherapy sessions held several times per week. These groups are staffed by a psychiatrist or psychologist with all police agents acting as co-therapists. These groups meet for 90 minutes with staff and clients, with an additional 30 minutes' consultation period. During this time, the agents have a rich opportunity to discuss group dynamics, specific case problems, theory, or ask any questions which may be important to staff at the moment. It has been said that "we [agents] receive $100 worth of knowledge a week from these things!"

Group psychotherapy experiences are also available on a pilot basis through the Pasadena Police Department in selected Pasadena City Schools.

An attempt is made to bring a large number of significant persons and agencies to bear on the problems of each client. Not all clients require all services offered; however, they are available if needed. The client, formerly isolated, alienated, hurt, angry, mistrustful of the establishment, especially the police, becomes aware that there are those within his community who care, those who want to, and can help; those who think he is worth more than he himself may think he is worth; those in the city, and in the police department who "give a damn."

The search for agencies that could provide the comprehensive services described above led to the relationships between the Youth Services Unit and Angeles Clinic. Angeles Clinic was established in 1971 to provide comprehensive mental health services to the public in the San Gabriel Valley area. The following outpatient services were established: diagnostic and evaluative services, individual counseling and psychotherapy, group counseling and psychotherapy, marriage counseling, family intervention, child management techniques, emergency evaluations for crisis intervention, referral services, and case consultation between the clinic and other groups and agencies.

Initially, the Youth Services Coordinator visited the clinic and discussed the possibilities of referring juveniles for evaluation and treatment recommendations. If the clinic felt the child could be followed up by the Youth Services Unit agent, treatment goals and modalities would be recommended. If the child needed more in-depth counseling and therapy or could not relate to the combined role of agent-therapist, he and his parents or guardian, foster parent, social worker would be offered the services of the clinic. Referrals were made from the clinic for persons not voluntarily participating in the clinic programs, or for those in need of specialized services; that is, special medical work-ups or neurological exams.

As the working relationships developed between the Youth Services Unit and Angeles Clinic, a number of results occurred. The number of referrals per week increased. There was an increase in informal contacts between agents and clinic staff members in phone calls requesting and giving information. Group therapy sessions developed

at the clinic in which the majority of members were referrals from the Youth Services Unit. A number of persons were hospitalized by staff members of the clinic at different hospitals in the area. At times, agents would require the child to participate in therapy, at the clinic as a condition of quasi-probation or suspended case condition. Questions arose relating to the ethics and legality of direct referrals to a private clinic, even though there were not enough tax-supported agencies to provide the necessary services. As a result, the Angeles Clinic was reorganized into a non-profit operation of Angeles Psychological Services Foundation. Angeles Foundation is a non-profit, tax exempt, California corporation that has been established to provide psychological, medical, social, and special education services to the public who otherwise could not afford necessary services.

At the present time, many kinds of persons are being referred to the clinic by the Youth Services Unit. Persons come to the attention of the Police Department from many sources such as the public schools, the Department of Public Social Services, school psychologists, detective and uniformed police personnel, or school resource officers who are police officers located on school campuses. A number of persons are self-referred to the Youth Services Unit. Not all persons are directly involved in criminal activity at the time they come to the attention of the police.

Appointments are made in one of several ways. The Youth Services Unit agent may call and make an appointment. The person himself may

call, or some responsible adult such as parent, guardian, foster parent, or social worker. Appointments are available from 8:30 a.m. until 10:00 p.m., Monday through Friday, and 8:30 a.m. until 12:00 noon on Saturday. Emergency night and weekend services are also available.

The more frequent referrals are for intellectual and/or emotional evaluation; depression (often accompanied by suicide thoughts or attempts); runaway behaviors; incorrigible behavior patterns at home; hostile, aggressive behaviors at school and in the community; fire setting behaviors; psychotic reactions; sexual deviancy; truancy; drug abuse, learning disabilities.

The clinic procedures available to these referrals include:

Diagnostic evaluations

Recommendations for follow-up by agent

Referral to medical or neurological specialists

Individual and group counseling and psychotherapy

Behavior modification programs in clinic, home, and school

Family intervention and counseling

Casework

Recommendations to schools for special programs or change of schools, including direct work with school psychologists

Consultation with Department of Public Social Services personnel, courts, probation departments

Appearance in court with and for patient

Facilitation of placement in halfway houses, foster homes, residential treatment centers, special schools

Hospitalization in mental health departments of general hospitals or psychiatric hospitals

Integration of community services for the client or patient, that is aid in obtaining housing, employment, welfare services, and rehabilitation programs

Another resource for diverting certain juvenile offenders from the criminal justice system is the private psychiatric hospital. When the behavior of the juvenile makes outpatient care impossible, or the home situation makes it impractical, then hospitalization may be a valuable option.

The hospital that we are best acquainted with is the Alhambra Psychiatric Hospital, which is an 85-bed facility located in Rosemead, California. It was established in 1924, but all of the original buildings have been replaced; and it is presently made up of a complex of air-conditioned buildings located on four and one-half acres of beautifully landscaped surroundings. The hospital is geared toward caring for emotional disorders of all types. This includes the geriatric patient, the adult patient, the adolescent patient, and for addicts a special drug detoxification program. Of the programs mentioned, the two that are most pertinent to this paper are the adolescent program and the drug detoxification program.

The adolescent program is based on meeting the immediate and projected needs of the adolescent. Coordinated through the team efforts of the physician and the nursing and adjunctive therapy personnel, it includes a variety of activities and school programs specifically developed for the adolescent. The school program is a

formalized undertaking with a credentialed teacher, assuring continuity of education while hospitalized. Instruction is tailored to the adolescent's specific needs and carefully integrated into his total treatment. Coordinated with the educational department is the recreational therapy program. This includes self-improvement activities, (charm class, weight control, social skills), aerobic exercises (running, swimming, etc.), special interest activities (chess, nature study, creative writing, instrument playing, etc.), social-cultural activities (music appreciation, art appreciation, ecology, etc.), and active sports (touch football, basketball, volley ball, bowling, etc.). Strong emphasis is placed on physical activity as this provides an acceptable energy outlet for the adolescent.

The drug detoxification program is designed to assist in the management of patients involved in drug abuse of all types. The program has been developed through current research with help from experts in the field of drug abuse treatment. This program is structured toward self-motivation of the patient through group "rap" sessions among his peers. Various community action groups are interested in this program, and we work closely with these groups. This helps insure, through referral, that the patient leaving the hospital pursues follow-up therapy in an on-going community program.

Both programs are centered around individual and group psychotherapy, patient government, and work therapy. Emphasis is placed, as previously stated, on physical as well as occupational and recreational

activities. Aerobic exercises, calisthenics, and competitive sports are a regular part of this program.

Although each patient admitted to these programs will be under the medical care of the attending physician, paramedical personnel, such as psychologists and psychiatric social workers are regularly utilized. This expanded health team approach permits involvement of the family in every case.

In this milieu of varied problems and different age groups, the juvenile offender is able to view his life style in comparison with other life styles. During the course of hospitalization, which usually extends over a period of three months or longer, the juvenile is exposed to and learns patterns of behavior which are acceptable within the greater social context. It goes without saying that during this period of hospitalization there is careful coordination of activities and frequent consultations with the police agent and/or the juvenile's probation officer.

Neither the Youth Services Unit nor the clinic or hospital considers the sole "unit of illness" to be the juvenile offender or potential offender. All three agencies are attempting to intervene in the social context of the client. Results (see Table 1) to the present time indicate system intervention can be more effective than Lennard and Bernstein (1971) suggest. Sutherland's (1966) concept of the clinic as a "servomechanism" seems to describe the efforts both agents and clinic and/or hospital staff are making in integrating treatment and intervention modalities, courts, schools, probation department, welfare agencies, hospitals, and homes.

The authors' roles in social intervention are consistent with Nicholas Hobbs' statement that "professional people have a responsibility for the management of innovation. The implication is that the mature professional does not simply respond to the needs of society but claims a role in determining what society should need and how social institutions, as well as individual professional careers, can be shaped to the service of an emerging social order. The responsible professional person becomes the architect of social change" (Hobbs, 1969).

The innovative relationships between the Youth Services Unit of the Pasadena Police Department, Angeles Clinic, and the Alhambra Psychiatric Hospital has produced stress and raised questions and controversial issues. A few of these questions and issues are mentioned here. What are the varying responsibilities of a mental health professional to (1) the client or patient, (2) the referring agency, such as the police department, (3) the community members, (4) the parents, guardians, or foster parents of minors? There is no problem when a life is in clear, potential danger. But, difficulties arise when the client is an adolescent ward of the court and presents information regarding activities that are illegal and/or seriously consequential but not clearly life threatening. For example, a client may be pushing hard drugs to another client; a stepfather may be sexually molesting a client who, out of fear, wants the information kept confidential; or a client may be physically abusing her child. Another question is whether private, non-governmental

groups "should" provide treatment modalities for involuntary clients that are required by the Youth Services Unit either to attend sessions or be processed through the criminal justice system. How much confidential information (even after authorized release) should be made available to police agents who have the rights and responsibilities of both "counselor" and "law enforcement officer?" To this point, the authors have relied upon the agent's verbal assurance that the information would remain confidential or only be used in the best interests of the client.

In summary, the former para-military structure of the Juvenile Bureau of the Pasadena Police Department was transformed into a Youth Services Unit. This unit consists of agents who are oriented to treatment and social intervention for juvenile offenders and potential offenders. Professional psychiatric, psychological, and social services of private practitioners and governmental agencies were often found to be unavailable to minority, low-income, Medi-Cal insured, and delinquent children and adolescents, especially on a crisis or emergency basis. This need led to the informal relationship with Angeles Clinic, a group offering comprehensive mental health services; and with the Alhambra Psychiatric Hospital, for patients who needed in-patient care and treatment. Through this relationship, many juveniles have been diverted from the criminal justice system. The prime concern and responsibility remains in the hands of the individual client, but a rapprochement of professionals,

agencies, and treatment modalities integrates community agencies and intervenes in the social context of these individuals.

TABLE 1

STATISTICS FOR INTENSIVE CARE CASES
(first eight months of the program)

AGENT	CURRENT CASE STATUS			SEX		ETHNIC ORIGIN			PROGRESS TO DATE			REFERRAL SOURCE			
	Active	Inact.	Tot.	Male	Female	Black	White	Other	Improved	Same	Regressed	Sch.	Dets.	Self	Other/U.D.
A	6	2	8	5	3	5	2	1	6	1	1	1	2	4	1
B	10	8	18	16	2	5	13	0	12	5	1	1	6	6	5
C	8	1	9	7	2	6	2	1	8	1	0	0	9	0	0
D*	4	9	13	6	7	4	9	0	11	2	0	1	4	4	4
E	4	4	8	8	0	2	6	0	7	1	0	2	2	3	1
F	13	6	19	15	4	7	9	3	13	4	2	0	10	7	2
TOTAL	45	30	75	57	18	29	41	5	57	15	4	5	33	24	13
%	60%	40%	100%	76%	24%	38.6%	54.7%	6.7%	76%	18.6%	5.4%	6.7%	44%	32%	17.3%

* On educational leave

APPENDIXES

SUMMARY OF CASE #5110

Fifteen-year old, male, Caucasian. Original referral by Youth Services Coordinator on December 2, 1971.

Case #5110 was apprehended on December 1, 1971, and admitted to eleven incidents of entering a female's house, asking to use the telephone, and then shaking the person's hand, rubbing her arm, kissing her hand, or holding the person around the waist.

Patient's family was offered psychiatric treatment prior to processing the cases through the criminal justice system. Patient's father contacted Angeles Clinic and agreed to hospitalization for his son. The psychiatrist, psychologist, and hospital agreed to take the patient on an insurance only payment basis.

Patient was hospitalized at a private psychiatric hospital in the adolescent treatment unit on December 3, 1972. Patient was diagnosed as adjustment reaction of adolescence, complicated with sexual deviation, schizoid tendencies, and obsessive-compulsive reactions.

Patient was treated with individual and group psychotherapy and behavior therapy. Patient responded favorably to therapy. Symptoms were significantly decreased. The patient went to court for preliminary hearing on February 7, 1972, and for final appearance on

March 16, 1972. The patient was released by the judge to the custody of his parents, with supervision and follow-up to be provided by the psychologist in charge of the patient and a probation officer.

Patient was discharged from the hospital on March 24, 1972, and is presently effectively functioning in a public high school, relating well to family and friends and making plans for vocational training.

SUMMARY OF CASE #5114

Seventeen-year old, male, Negro. Original referral from Department of Public Social Services through Youth Services Unit on January 6, 1972.

The patient was threatening suicide; he had a history of inability to control impulses; numerous fights, expelled from school; moved from foster home to foster home. Patient was evaluated at the clinic, and hospitalization was effected at a general hospital psychiatric department under Medi-Cal insurance.

Patient was found to have temporal lobe seizures in addition to his emotional pathology. Diagnosis was adjustment reaction of adolescence with schizoid personality and some paranoid trends. Patient was treated for two weeks at the hospital and followed up with out-patient treatment.

Patient present released to a stable foster home. Patient experiences better control on medications, feels optimistic, able to remain full day in school for first time in several years.

SUMMARY OF CASE # 5113

Twelve-year old, male, Caucasian. Initial contact with clinic was on January 31, 1972, when he was referred because of severe anger and hostility. He was clearly a danger to himself as well as others in the house because of his extremely low tolerance for stress and frustration. He was responding to internal stress by threats of violence. He was referred by the Youth Services agent whose only options in dealing with the case were incarceration or treatment.

Patient was hospitalized at a private psychiatric hospital on February 2, 1972, for observation and evaluation of possible organic involvement. EEG was abnormal with bilateral sharp wave formation, which is markedly aggravated by hyperventilation. Patient responded to individual and group therapy and chemotherapy. He was discharged on March 20, 1972.

Patient was followed in outpatient therapy and continued to stabilize and function in an appropriate way at home and in the community.

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DIVERSION OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

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Introduction

In these opening remarks I should like to focus on what the title of this paper "Diversion of Juvenile Offenders in the Criminal Justice System" suggests to a lawyer.

What do we mean by diversion? For the sake of argument, let us define diversion as a channeling of cases to non-court institutions or systems in instances where these cases would ordinarily have been processed by the juvenile court. The most significant part of the definition is the second half, that the cases would normally have been handled by the juvenile court. One problem with projects which are advertised and sold as "diversionary" is that their clients may never have gone through the juvenile court. These projects may be useful in themselves because they aid juveniles, but they increase state intervention without reducing the work load of the courts. They are supplemental, but they are not diversionary.

There are certain ironic overtones to the topic, for the juvenile court itself was created to be and has been a diversion of juvenile offenders from the adult criminal justice system. It is a

commentary upon the present status of the juvenile court that there has been such emphasis in recent years upon diversion of the normal clients of the juvenile court and that the juvenile court should be called part of the "criminal justice system."

The ill repute into which the juvenile court has fallen is in a large measure attributable to its inability to demonstrate that the persons who passed through its doors have been helped. Indeed, the sociologists have pointed out the stigmatizing or labeling impact of the court, i.e., the client of the juvenile court is regarded as a "criminal" by social institutions and by the juvenile himself, is a significant negative consequence of official handling. Advocates of diversion might well ask themselves the extent to which they shall be able to avoid these same deficiencies: the inability to demonstrate "success" and the stigma of "treatment."

Talk of diversion should not gloss over the fact that the difficult problem of diagnosing children still remains. Even assuming that there were adequate community resources available, a grossly unfounded assumption in most instances, the need to determine the needs of the individual child remains. Some juveniles need special psychiatric care and counseling, others may need medical care. Special school programs may be called necessary. Coersion is considered to be appropriate for some juveniles, either for treatment, which in many cases is non-existent or inappropriate, or for punishment which society often demands.

Diversion does not absolve society from making diagnoses. Diversion merely redesignates or shifts the responsibility for making these decisions. Fundamental questions remain. By whom are these individuals to be judged and upon what evidence?

The Organization of Diversion

Under a diversionary scheme, the persons who will be making decisions in such agencies as welfare, schools or youth service bureaus are less visible and often have less training than the intake officers and the judges of the juvenile court. One of the most serious problems in the administration of criminal and juvenile justice in recent years has been the need to rationalize and make visible the enormous discretion which exists at all levels. At the police level, for instance, the debate about such regulatory devices as exclusionary rule or citizen review boards are hotly debated alternatives for rationalizing discretiaon. The emphasis in the juvenile area to "get cases out of the court" should not diminish our interest in due process and regularizing the discretion of decision making, whether these decision makers are in diversionary projects or are members of the juvenile justice system. For example, commentators seem to agree that civil commitment as an alternative to criminal prosecution has raised the same problems that it has tried to solve.

The Decision to Divert

The evidence upon which diversionary decision makers rely is often in the form of dossiers or record files kept by such agencies

as police, welfare, schools and juvenile courts. An innovative program for diversion of cases from the court is going to have to meet some of the hard questions about the confidentiality, the accuracy and the stigmatizing effect of these records which have plagued the juvenile court.

The phrase "diversion from the criminal justice system" is doubly misleading; courts are and should be involved in the process of diversion. When we speak of diversion, let us not forget that the juvenile court itself has been a source of innovation since its inception and that one of the most significant of these innovations has been a formal intake function which screens and diverts cases to available community resources.

Not only are most juvenile courts heavily involved in diversion on a day-to-day basis, there is a continuing need for judicial review of the administrative decisions inherent in diversion. This review, however, should follow the pattern of courts reviewing other administrative agencies - i.e., protecting against abuses of discretion rather than a de novo hearing.

Some of the serious legal problems which remain in diversion are as follows: If an "offender" is diverted to a social agency where he "fails," and he is then processed through the courts for the same offense, is this double jeopardy? To state an extreme case: Should a juvenile be sent to five or six different agencies where he is tested, interrogated, and "treated," only to be finally declared "unsuitable for diversion" and sent to juvenile court to be further

tested, interrogated, and "treated?" Is a referral by a Youth Service Bureau voluntary where the alternative is being processed as a juvenile offender with an omnipresent threat of a reformatory in the background? Will "right to treatment" cases soon be brought against diversionary programs?

The Juvenile Conference Committees in New Jersey are an example of the need for continuing court supervision of diversion. The Juvenile Conference Committees were first established on a state-wide basis by order of the Supreme Court on January 1, 1953. Each community was to establish a committee, generally of nine members of that community who would adjust cases on an informal basis and without a record. Although there does not appear to have been any systematic studies of how many and what kind of cases have been referred to these local committees and with what results, current figures indicate that at least in some counties, 50 percent of the cases referred to the court are in turn referred by intake to a Juvenile Conference Committee.

In 1965, the Supreme Court appointed a committee to study the committee system and report what changes might be needed. The committee held public hearings, heard witnesses, wrote to all the juvenile court judges, but, as is typical of most evaluations, collected no empirical data.

As one might expect, there was some good news and some bad news. The good news was that the committees were doing a good job given their broad mandate and lack of any training. The Supreme Court Committee recommended that they be continued and strengthened.

The bad news was that some of these committees had become courts both in name and in practice. Instead of facing one judge, the juvenile faced nine. These committees were on occasion dealing with serious offenses--aggravated homosexual attacks or repeated and serious burglaries. Juveniles were frequently put on probation, although there was absolutely no legal authority; in one county the committees were assessing fines. Another common practice was the ordering of psychiatric or psychological tests and evaluations. All of this activity was being conducted without any form of judicial review.

The New Jersey Supreme Court committee made recommendations which hopefully have corrected many of these problems. Should not all of these diversionary schemes be monitored on a regular basis to avoid such abuses?

Perhaps the most upsetting aspect of diversion is that it may impede the more fundamental reform of reducing juvenile court jurisdiction by statutory amendment.

Such wholesale reforms change legal norms so that conduct is no longer processed through the juvenile courts. In the adult system, many people have come to realize the impracticability of processing drunks or alcoholics as criminals. In contrast to wholesale reform, case by case diversion does not attempt radical changes by repealing or amending statutes. Instead, someone decides that some "juvenile offenders" are given much better treatment in non-juvenile court systems. Such a scheme calls for an ad hoc decision in individual cases by someone in the large system which deals with children in

trouble. Thus, some juveniles who shop lift will be processed through the juvenile court, whereas other shop lifters will be diverted to non-court alternatives. This same discretion, when found in police officers who process certain offenses as criminal while others are forgiven or adjusted at the street or station-house level, is severely criticized by civil libertarians.

In the case of the New Jersey Juvenile Conference Committee cited earlier, there have been newspaper reports and other local criticisms that in some communities the conference committees are effectively used to divert middle class white youths, but in the urban ghettos they have not been very successful; the juvenile courts continue to be flooded with poor kids from minority backgrounds.

Discretion can and should not be totally eliminated from decisions by police, intake officers, and other administrators in diversionary settings. A certain amount of discretion and flexibility is necessary in any administrative system. However, most attempts to divert increase the discretion available to system participants and increase the need of the judiciary or some other institution in our society, e.g., ombudsman or legislative oversight, to monitor the system on a permanent basis in order to review and control that exercise of discretion.

A more serious problem is that discretionary screening of cases will postpone more necessary reforms. In recently calling for the abolition of §601 jurisdiction over all juvenile status offenses

such as incorrigibility, a California legislative committee[1] found the section to be "notoriously vague and ambiguous." The Committee continued:

> It has often been suggested that almost any child alive in America could, if the court so desired, be found to come within the provisions of this statute. . . . Trying to define an idle, dissolute, lewd, or immoral life is like trying to define art. It is impossible. It can only be assumed that the courts are expected to know it when they see it. . . as a result of the absence of objective standards the application of Section 601 throughout the state is anything but evenhanded. What one judge might view as trivial behavior will elicit an angry reaction from another judge. (Murphy, 1970).

Some would agree with this legislative committee that outright abolition, and not passing the buck to anonymous administrations, is a better solution.

In conclusion, I would suggest that we have always had diversion, and I hope that the trend shall continue especially in dealing with runaways. My major concern is that it should be evaluated in terms of due process or fairness, as well as other criteria of success.

NOTES

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THE WORKSHOP AS A DEVICE FOR DEVELOPING JUVENILE JUSTICE PROGRAMS

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Introduction

This paper extends the findings of the Juvenile Justice Workshops Project which was conducted by the MIT-Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies under LEAA sponsorship (1). The purposes of that project were to examine the use of the workshop technique as a device to improve communications among all parts of the system for the administration of juvenile justice--professional agencies, both public and private, and the youthful clients of the system themselves. With improved communication can come better identification and means for finding solutions, improved allocation of resources, and smoother routine administration.

The project resulted from discussion between a representative of the MIT-Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies and the staff of the New England Region of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. The genesis of the idea was the successful use of workshops to achieve improvements in the correctional field. Urgency for improving communications and planning in juvenile justice is underscored by rising involvement of juveniles in socially deviant behavior, by admitted

failures of the juvenile justice system to cope with the problems, and by the desire to use the increasing federal funds that are being allocated to the juvenile justice area to obtain meaningful improvements.

Three separate workshops, and a number of reconvenings and seminars were conducted during the grant period. The major topics selected after considerable discussions were: (1) disposition of the youthful offender in Massachusetts; (2) drugs and the youthful offender; and (3) alternatives to the juvenile justice system in New York City. Each workshop was evaluated, using standard behavioral science methodology. The MIT-Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies provided the project staff.

The report of that project, copies of which are available from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, emphasizes the methodologies and evaluation of the experimental variables, composition, size, location, topic, etc., of the workshop panels. The report concludes that the workshop technique does, indeed, break down communication barriers that exist among parts of the system for the Administration of Juvenile Justice and that exist between the system and its youthful client. This paper explores some of the potential consequences of better communications to program planning.

Background

Problems in the Administration of Juvenile Justice.--The juvenile justice field shares with many other areas of criminal justice the

problem that there is a lack of opportunity for those who are involved at different levels and in different roles to share their diverse perspectives and to search jointly for solutions which are mutually recognized.

The sense of urgency in the field of juvenile justice today centers on concerns with youthful drug abuse, robbery, burglary, and auto theft. In addition, however, there are issues pertaining to the content, relevance and effectiveness of police, judicial and correctional programs since continuing increases in rates of youth crime and recidivism may well reflect serious deficiences in the functioning of the present system. Juvenile justice, like the larger criminal justice system, is administered by a number of loosely coordinated segments whose collective actions often do not accrue to the advantage of the youthful offender and/or society as a whole. Existing institutions, police, courts, social agencies and corrections, possess resources for dealing with the problem of the youthful offender. Yet, each segment of the system conducts a limited range of programs whose character often reflects particular bureaucratic constraints. The many specific problems that impede the efficient and effective administration of juvenile justice are included in the general categories of: (1) inadequacy of interagency communications, (2) uncertainty of goals and objectives, (3) difficulty in identifying approaches that are responsive to problems, (4) inconsistencies and duplication in allocation of effort and resources, and (5) deficiencies in problem-solving tools. These organizational

problems and constraints thus often result in artificial boundaries between agencies, missed opportunities to coordinate programs, and costly waste of time and talent.

The Juvenile Justice Workshop: Origins and Rationale.--In the last few years, there have been reported at least two successful applications of the workshop technique in the field of criminal justice, specifically in the correctional segment. The one at Lake Tahoe, Nevada, resulted in court initiation of prison reform in California, while the other, at Annapolis, Maryland, resulted in legislative initiatives for prison reform in that state. In each case, these actions apparently resulted from new communications among representatives of the system and its clients.

This project explores the potential of the workshop device in the area of juvenile justice, but there is some contrast between the rationale for the present enterprise and those for the Lake Tahoe and Annapolis conferences. These previous workshops focused on a specific objective, prison reform; in attempting to achieve that goal, they sought to break down negative attitudes about prisons that were held by criminal justice professionals and citizens. Not surprisingly, therefore, these conferences tended to invite a disproportionate number of judges and other high-status individuals of considerable influence in criminal justice policymaking. In order to immerse such persons fully in the prison world, the conferences ran on for periods of up to nine days; moreover, psychodramatic and role-play techniques were utilized.

The objectives of the juvenile justice workshop project were more diffuse. The focus was the juvenile justice system in general, not reform thereof, as had been the case for previous criminal justice workshops. Institution of change in the administration of juvenile justice is far more complex than is the task of improving a single penal institution; for most juvenile justice clients do not reach institutions but instead are passed from one public and private agency to another throughout their "delinquent" careers. Thus, the workshop concentrated on problem identification, not problem solution. Rather than attempting directly to change attitudes, we sought to provide a forum for the attitudes that are actually held by various individuals and organizations that deal with youngsters. The workshop project staff had no program to sell, since such an undertaking would have been premature. Instead, efforts were directed toward shaping a communications tool useful for problem-solving. If, as a consequence of a given workshop, some immediate practical action occurred, such results were welcomed, but their achievement was not a major explicit objective of this project.

The Potential of Workshops for the Juvenile Justice System.-- Within the next few years, significant funds will be available from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and other government agencies to attack problems and create programs. How should these funds be spent so as to achieve maximum and lasting impact?

A major premise of the juvenile justice workshop project is that improved communication among individuals representative of all

segments of the system, including those youths whom the system is intended to serve, will assist in identifying difficulties and developing better solutions. The establishment of better communication channels would appear to be a necessary first step towards reaping the benefits of the experience of persons already involved in the administration of juvenile justice.

For the present project, the workshop was conceived as a collective event during the course of which individuals, each representing some segment of the juvenile justice system, are brought together under conditions that encourage each to interact with the others in striving toward explanations and/or solutions of common problems. Each of these individuals maintains personal and institutional objectives, is aware of constraints that govern the attainment of those objectives, and is able to bring these facts to bear in the workshop forum. Not only does this analysis apply to adults who, by virtue of their occupations, are involved in the juvenile justice complex, but also to youths who have goals and are aware of constraints in their contacts with the police, the courts, and the rehabilitation agencies.

In the workshop context, participants present their ideas as to the nature of the problems, alternative solutions, and priorities for action. Exchanges of differing viewpoints often involve considerable interpersonal friction and even occasional hostility, but such overt conflict is often a precursor of mutual accommodation. The result of this process of sharing perspectives is then a

refinement and blending of ideas and approaches, and sometimes even the generation of novel proposals which represent syntheses of differing views.

Illustrations of Program Planning and Development Occurring During the Workshop Project

Description of the Workshops.--Three workshops were held in January, March, and April of 1971. The first was held in the Boston Metropolitan area at the State Industrial School for Boys in Shirley, Massachusetts; the second took place at the Holiday Inn in Hyannis, Cape Cod; and the third was at Sloane House YMCA in New York City.

Each workshop was three days in length and consisted of five panel sessions, two the first two days, and one the third. Panels were instructed to spend the first day in defining the problem, the second in considering alternatives, and the final session in devising prescriptions. Each day began with a plenary session--the group was addressed by a keynote speaker; while on the subsequent two days, these sessions were utilized by rapporters from each panel to outline what had transpired in their groups on the previous day and by staff members to offer pointers on group discussions.

There were four panels for each workshop (2). Each panel was composed of from eight to twelve members, representing different segments of the juvenile justice system, including youth, both adjudicated and non-adjudicated. The panels were distinguished from one another by status levels, however. Thus, Panel A was made up of

operating level personnel from the various agencies (police, courts, corrections, etc.) and younger youths; Panel B consisted of supervisory level juvenile justice personnel and somewhat older youths; Panel C included persons from the higher status administrative levels and older youths; and Panel D was comprised of personnel from all levels, and therefore was designated as the "mixed" panel (3). Each panel also included a staff moderator and a staff observer.

In the analyses which follow, these definitions of units of analysis have been employed:

Participant: Individuals involved in juvenile delinquency field, youth, agency worker, law-enforcement officials, etc., who take part in the group discussions.

Panel: Between 8 and 12 participants assigned to a group whose composition remains essentially the same throughout the three days of the workshop. The term "group" is also applied to this unit.

Session: There are two major kinds of collective events during the workshop: "plenary" and "panel" assemblages. A "session" is a meeting of panel members of approximately two to three hours duration for the purposes of small group discussion. In each workshop, there are five sessions--two each the first and second days, and one the third day. "Plenary sessions" will always be designated as such in order to distinguish them from meetings of panel "sessions".

Workshop: All the collective events of the three-day meetings; plenary sessions, panel sessions, speeches, summaries, and so.

Material Relevant to Juvenile Justice Program Planning.--General Observations: Taken across the board, Juvenile Justice Professionals stated that they needed:

1. proposals for action
2. facts on the Juvenile Justice System and on trends in delinquency
3. outline of problems existing in the field

Institutions like the schools that were not represented were scapegoated by youths and professionals alike.

Professionals and youths alike acknowledged communications and information barriers and expressed some surprise at the fragileness of these barriers in face-to-face discussions. Professionals in one area, say police, knew little of the problems and constraints faced by their colleagues in other areas of the juvenile justice system.

There was general agreement that crowded dockets, cramped facilities, and non-existent program goals combined to give the delinquent youth a "bad shake." Public apathy towards the problems of juveniles or misguided toughness both serve to inhibit creation and follow-through in juvenile justice programs.

To the surprise of this author and to some of the youths, police and youths frequently side against the courts and correctional institutions. This dissatisfication may be a valuable indicator in in obtaining proposals for workable programs that are acceptable to the target clientele.

Useful interactions can be obtained independent of the composition and state of the panel. Figure 2 shows evaluation criteria, and Table I taken from the final report on the workshop project illustrates the results of evaluation. Figure 1 shows the typical composition of the panels.

Each workshop resulted in a call for action by the participants themselves. In each case, additional reconvenings of elements occurred in efforts to develop some programs to the extent that funding reports could be made. It is noted with disappointment that neither the State Planning Agency in New York, nor Massachusetts or indeed any in LEAA Region I, showed the slightest interest in follow-through in the project.

Some Illustrative Findings from the Individual Workshops.--The workshop that was held at a large juvenile detention facility, since closed, in Massachusetts provided the following guidelines to juvenile justice program planning:

1. Programs should be aimed at giving juvenile dropouts job training.

2. Programs should be initiated and executed by the youths themselves with minimum establishment direction.

3. Rehabilitation should take place in the offender's own community or half-way houses with peer group management and discipline vice sequestering in large dehumanizing institutions.

Note that the first two points are different ways of stressing relevancies through the eyes of the youths. Both youths and lower

status professionals at the workshop were sharply cynical that any constructive action would result in terms of follow-through. Events seem to be proving that their cynicism was well-founded. Perhaps, it is this lack of persistance and follow-through that is the single most destructive factor in juvenile justice program planning.

The second workshop, also in Massachusetts, dealt with the youthful offender and drugs. The Joint Center staff felt that this topic and the group that was assembled from Cape Cod to address it were least responsive to the opportunity for improving communication that the workshop was supposed to provide. Even here, however, there were program planning guidelines implicit in the discussion of the topics.

1. The youth demanded increased responsibility. One individual suggested legalization of marijuana for use above some arbitrary cut-off age, like 19 or 20, saying that such action would prove the kids could handle it like we adults handle alcohol.

2. The youths observed that adult program planners and "do-gooders" are hypocritical. Cited in the discussions were the difficulties of finding facilities for "hot lines," half-way houses, or even teen-recreation center. The regulatory zoning and sanitation codes are often used to inhibit juvenile programs that are aimed at prevention or rehabilitation.

3. Police and recreational professionals spoke of the necessity to build flexibility into programs, citing fads like drag racing, using dune buggies, etc. that come and go. It was a dismal commentary on the discussion that the citizens that live in the communities on Cape Cod increasingly restrict

the rights of the public, particularly the youths, to use what was once public property for any purposes. Juvenile justice programs must avoid the semblance of additional restrictive measures.

4 On Cape Cod, the unwillingness of the citizens as well as many of the juvenile justice professionals to admit to the existence of the problems caused by lack of jobs, lack of entertainment, lack of public transportation, the presence of the transient, resort population, etc., appeared to be a major factor in the ineffectiveness of prevention or rehabilitation planning. How general are these problems?

The third workshop dealt with alternatives to the Juvenile Justice Systems in New York City. Although the sophistication of both professionals and youths was higher than at the two Massachusetts workshops, the findings were much the same. Police and youths agreed on the culpability of irrelevant school programs for much of the frustration shown by the delinquent youth. Institutional barriers in New York City appeared to be higher, and most of the lower status professionals appeared resigned to being unable to make much difference.

Some of the points with program implications made by participants in the New York City workshop are:

1. Keep the social worker professionals at a distance. One ghetto resident viewed with contempt a man from the mid-West who chose to live in the ghetto. The youths who wanted to run their own show recognized the need for help in obtaining grant money, facilities, etc., but felt that these activities could take place in a remote office.

2. Involve the schools in program planning. The Joint Center staff decided to include the schools with other social agencies of which there are hundreds. Limitations of space prevented our including all presumably relevant groups. The reader can rapidly fill a page with the names of groups and individuals in his community that have impact on the juvenile justice system. Hindsight says that, at least in New York, we should have specifically included the public schools and perhaps the City Mental Health and Welfare agencies.

The appendix to the paper is a precis of material provided to the Joint Center by the New York City Criminal Justice Coordinating Council. It was prepared by a member of the Joint Center staff.

What Next

The Joint Center's project showed that communications barriers can be lowered through the use of tools like workshops. Since individuals are contributed by sponsoring agencies that would presumably pay them anyway, the workshops are inexpensive. A few people working as an advance party can execute a workshop.

Planning workshops in conjunction with a systems analysis of the juvenile justice system in a specific locality so that goals can be identified holds considerable promise in identifying useful programs of both preventive and rehabilitative nature.

The essential element before the youth or the juvenile justice professionals are involved is to guarantee resources, human and financial, for follow-through. To dootherwise could make the workshop and planning process counter-productive to the goals of the Juvenile Justice system.

APPENDIX

Juvenile Justice in New York City

The sponsors of the workshop wish to thank the men and women who will be devoting the next three days to a discussion of juvenile justice problems in New York City. In an attempt to make the workshop as productive as possible, we have abstracted certain relevant portions of the 1971 City Criminal Justice Plan. It is hoped that this will offer a concrete focus for the discussion of "Alternatives to the Juvenile Justice System." Although we have labeled this a Juvenile Justice Conference, its scope will extend as well to the problems of youthful offenders (age 16-19).

Crime Prevention for Youth (4)

The City Plan begins by describing the present state of criminal justice in New York.

> That is the situation today. New York City's criminal justice system is paying the price for long years of public indifference to criminal justice administration, for the suspicion with which criminal justice agencies regard one another, for the use of legal structures and enforcement of nearly everything essential to even minimally sound administration.

Ultimately, the use of deterrence against criminals is the less effective side of the crime prevention coin. In the final analysis, if the city is to prevent crime, it must intervene to impede the development of criminal careers.

Juvenile crime, regardless of its future implications, is a major problem in itself. It has terrorized storeowners, undermined order in the public schools and threatened at times the operation of subways

and the accessibility of parks. Youth are responsible for an enormous share of all crimes. In 1970, one out of every three persons arrested for felonies was 19 or under.

In dealing with adult criminals, the basis tool for deterrence is usually the criminal sanction. Juvenile justice, in theory, provides a helping system rather than a punitive mechanism. The juvenile offender is not regarded by the law as a criminal. Procedures are more informal than adult processes, and there are more diversion routes built into official procedures. Recent court decisions have forced more and more of the adult, due process requirements into the juvenile justice system. These decisions have been based upon judgments that juvenile systems are more coercive and punitive than rehabilitative.

There are three ways by which a juvenile can be kept from full criminal treatment activities; his complaint can be informally resolved at intake by police or Department of Probation; either before or during the family court process, he can be referred to some social services agencies; after family court disposition, he can be referred to the Department of Probation for supervision.

None of these methods is particularly likely to provide sufficient help. Informal case adjustment is obviously useful, but many cases that need follow-up do not receive necessary services. Referral to social service agencies is often meaningless because of diffuse programming and lack of resources. The usefulness of Department of Probation supervision is limited. The size and

diversity of the average worker's caseload, normally about 60, depending on neighborhood, makes any effective help impossible. Such treatment is probably preferable to treating a juvenile as a criminal, as in the referral of difficult or dangerous cases to juvenile detention because of over-crowing in institutions.

Though data on recidivism currently is unavailable, the absence of wide-sale rehabilitation programs in state institutions makes it likely that they also have reinforced the criminal tendencies of many juveniles at a critical stage of their personal development.

In the past, the family court has not been an efficient mechanism for dealing with juvenile offenders. Its fragmented part structure and procedures often tended to deprive the juvenile of procedural rights without bringing any of the benefits supposedly accruing from a more informal approach than adult court.

The various service agencies do not fill this need either. The City's Youth Services Agency, with existing resources, cannot begin to cope with the scope of the problem. There are now about 30,000 city children in foster homes, shelters, training schools, and other public and private institutions. Thousands more need diverse kinds of services.

There are literally hundreds of youth services available, and they cover a wide range; basic and remedial education; casework and personal counseling; child guidance clinics; cultural and special services; day care and nursery; alcoholism; family planning, group work; Headstart; job training and placement; vocational guidance;

legal aid; narcotics addiction and education services; out-of-wedlock counseling; psychiatric services; recreation; residences; and summer programs. While on the surface they may appear of some potential value, they are fragmented without unity of referral, often they lack a community base and, most important, target areas and specific needs at various age levels are not well defined. Lack of resources also leads to uncertain continuity.

In the past year, the family court has taken important steps to rationalize its organization and is now implementing a simplified all-purpose part structure. In a very significant step, the Department of Probation has adopted a plan to decentralize its program to provide better social services in a community setting. City agencies and community groups are showing greater recognition of the importance of the delinquency problem. While these steps are by no means a complete solution to the many problems in juvenile crime prevention, if the same willingness to experiment and innovate continues, it will be possible to deal with them.

Basis of Approach

There are two major needs in this area. There must be major efforts to identify the potential repeat offender and alter his behavior, and the system for dealing with identified juvenile offenders must be able to rehabilitate those individuals.

To accomplish the former, only a system of effective outreach such as the workshop can identify potential delinquents. These

juveniles must then have the opportunity to engage in positive, noncriminal activities; and social services must be provided for the individuals brought into such activities. These three elements should be united in a coordinated program. It will do no good to identify potential delinquents, if there is no service program for them.

To rehabilitate the delinquents who actually come into contact with the justice system, the entire system of juvenile justice must focus upon treatment and service. This requires several combined closely related ideal revisions in the existing system. First, as many individuals as possible should be treated non-criminally. Second, the system must rationalize and reform its precedures to recognize the rights of juveniles and dispose of their cases without delay. Third, the provision of rehabilitation services must be the common element in all dispositions of adjudicated delinquents.

CJCC intends to put the largest part of its future efforts in the development of diversion program models. Detailed guidelines will be constructed and distributed to interested community organizations and agencies. The program will focus upon the development of a variation of the Youth Services Bureau (YSB) Model described in the report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.

The YSB should pool the resources of local, private, and public agencies and develop programs to divert youth from further involvement in the justice system. It should be a recognized agency for referral

of youth by criminal-justice agencies and offer a wide range of services reflecting the coordination and integration of public and private community resources and social services. Available funding for the Youth Services Bureau will be approximately one million dollars.

CJCC has already funded several programs geared to diversion of juveniles to community resources. The East Tremont Youth program, developed by the Vera Institute, takes referrals from police and the intake section of probation. It utilizes a community-judicial forum to dispose of minor cases and seeks to provide comprehensive rehabilitative services.

The diversion program funded for the Euphrasian Residence obtains referrals from the family court. The project is a day treatment program for girls 12-17 years of age and offers remedial instruction, vocational training, casework, and group therapy.

Recent state legislation permits non-secure detention and the $1.5 million CJCC grant, under the overall guidance of the family court and the presiding justices of the first and second departments, enables the Office of Probation to decentralize juvenile detention for more than 30 percent of its annual detention intake. The proposed facilities include group homes, boarding homes, foster homes, and non-residential day-night centers.

In the family court itself, CJCC has funded a program to assist reform of the calendaring process. In addition, as a preliminary towards full government representation in delinquency proceedings,

council funds will permit the city's law department to staff the family court in one borough. As of now, with the exception of occasional government representation by lawyers from the Police Department Legal Division, the judge must act as both prosecutor and judge. This situation presents obvious difficulties and conflict of role.

We have also explored possibilities for adding service dimensions to legal assistance for youth and juveniles following apprehension. Such services could assist the alleged offender in understanding the legal process and in planning an alternative disposition that might convince the court that full processing in the courts is neither necessary nor desirable.

The BYCEP program of the Youth Services Agency has received funds to provide follow-up service referrals after release of a youth from detention. The project, with personnel at both the institutional and community levels, will provide continuity of referrals for these youths.

Other possible programs with the family court are in the exploratory stage. One area of dire need is the ability to perform outpatient competency examinations in order to avoid needless referral to hospitals and the resultant unnecessary, at times uncomfortable, cost confinement.

A major school security problem is the provision of a secure learning environment without massive police presence. The board of education has instituted a security guard program. Council funds up

to $250,000 will be available to assist the board in improving that program through more planning, training, evaluation, and introduction of a career ladder. The CJCC-funded Education Task Force provides information and facilitates communication to prevent impending school violence and disruption.

CJCC would also be interested in developing a project that would provide alternative ways of dealing with school truancy. Such a program would take a service, rather than a sanction approach, and focus primarily on youth whose behavior suggests a real potential for criminal conduct.

Summary

Prevention of juvenile and youth crime has been one of the most neglected areas in criminal justice despite long recognition if its crucial importance. CJCC will in the coming year conduct an experimental effort with prevention models to discover in what way that function can best be carried out. Programs also will attempt to redirect the prime focus of juvenile and youth justice away from sanctions and toward rehabilitation in a non-criminalized model.

Figure 1

Panel Structure

Type of participant by function	Operating Level Panel	Supervisory Level Panel	Administrative Level Panel	Mixed Level Panel
Prevention and treatment worker	detached worker	head of small youth service agency	director of large youth service bureau	optional
Police youth specialist	ptlmn level	sgt level	command level	ptlmn level
Regular police	ptlmn level	sgt level	police chief	police chief
Court personnel	probation	Asst. DA	judge	defense lawyer
Staff of custodial institution	cottage supervisor	counselor	superintendent	head of custodial center
After care workers	parole officer	parole supv.	head of large rehab. center	optional
Youth who has been processed in JJ System but not institutionalized	Age 15	Age 16	Age 17	optional 16
institutional inmate	Age 16	Age 17	Age 18	optional
Youth in after-care (released from inst.) program	Age 17	Age 18	Age 19	optional

Figure 2

Criteria for Rating Panel Sessions

Criterion	Dimension	
	Individual	Group
Participation	"activity": active-inactive	"extent": broad-narrow
Involvement	"intensity": high-low	intensity: high-low
Mutuality	orientation: collective-individual	degree: cohesive-fragmented
Relevance	degree: relevant-irrelevant	degree: relevant-irrelevant
Specificity	degree: specific-abstract	degree: specific-abstract
Prescriptivity	degree: descriptive-prescriptive	degree: descriptive-prescriptive

Figure 3

Scale for Rating Panel Session Criteria

Code	Qualitative Description
1	lowest degree/none
2	substantially below average
3	below average
4	above average
5	substantially above average
6	highest degree

Estimated "average" based primiarily on judgment by rater as to "expected" performance in a group context of this type.

Table 1

Ratings of Effectiveness of Panels of Different Status Levels by Each of Six Criteria

	P A N E L S				
	Operating Level-A	Supervisory Level-B	Administrative Level-C	Mixed Level-D	All Panels
Participation	3.34	3.79	3.85	3.78	3.69
Involvement	3.56	3.93	4.15	4.05	3.91
Mutuality*	3.65	3.82	3.94	3.89	3.82
Relevance	3.67	3.89	3.80	3.97	3.83
Specificity	3.54	3.89	4.08	4.30	3.96
Prescriptivity≠	3.34	3.39	3.26	3.78	3.44
All Criteria	3.51	3.78	3.84	3.96	3.77

* Mutuality was measures by slightly different criteria for the Boston workshop.

≠ Prescriptivity score is based on the last two sessions only, during which time prescriptivity was supposed to be high.

JUVENILE DETENTION WITHOUT A BUILDING

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In St. Louis, Missouri, recently a young man, known as a Community Youth Leader, visited the home of a boy whose case was pending in the Juvenile Court; and he found the boy in bed ill. Two other children in the family were ill, and the house was without heat or electricity. The Youth Leader spent a large part of his day contecting the appropriate public agencies and getting utilities restored and medical attention for the children.

Another youth leader found himself acting as the daytime parent in a family of several children, while the mother went to a hospital for several days of necessary medical care; and the father went back to work in order to keep his job and income.

Still another youth leader, concerned about a boy's uncertain school attendance went daily for awhile to that boy's home, personally waked him each morning, saw that he ate his breakfast and took him to school; not just to the curb in front of the school, but into the classroom. At the same time, he arranged to meet the boy after school and participate with him in his free time activities.

These episodes all involved boys who were in detention status, awaiting disposition of their cases before the St. Louis Juvenile Court.

The boys all had initially been placed in secure detention according to the usual and proper criteria that unless detained they might either abscond or commit new delinquencies. And just as in so many cities throughout the country, these boys were in a detention home that no longer was capable of handling the increased volume of cases but was running about 150 percent of capacity much of the time.

Because this condition of overcrowded detention is so endemic country-wide, it seemed to us that there is a real need to develop measures that could quite substantially cut into these detention populations. It is not just a matter of relieving the pressure on overcrowded buildings, but also a matter of attacking what seems to be a criminogenic effect of correctional institutions. We feel adequately convinced that the placement of an already failure-prone boy or girl in a locked facility for bad children is a very concrete act that says to that child that he is indeed considered bad, a failure, and a reject. This and every failure experience has the effect of reducing the child's self-esteem and leaving him less motivated to try; less motivated to keep out of the long succession of more and more forbidding lock-ups that wait in his future.

About a year ago, we asked the Judge and the Director of Court Services in the St. Louis Juvenile Court if they would care to play host to an experiment in a new, systematic but simple plan for keeping children out of detention. They were immediately receptive and in due time our company, Research Analysis Corporation, was given a grant from the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention office of HEW for the purpose of designing and installing the program in St. Louis,

and for giving it general supervision and evaluation through its first year.

There is a stark and central fact that is grossly overlooked when we feel the need to lock up either juvenile or adult detainees. That is, that we never seem to bolster the alternatives to lock-up with anything like the strength that we try to build into the jail or detention home. Ordinarily, when we leave a juvenile at large instead of detaining him until court disposition, we leave him at home with no supervision at all, or with the token help of a probation officer who has 40 or 50 other cases. The usual alternative has not been to give the boy the help he truly needs to enable him to make it there in the community, but rather to spend much more money locking him up in a very expensive building.

So, what we are up to in St. Louis is to spend resources without stint to keep a boy or girl stabilized in the community where he belongs. The program seeks to apply a principle of giving help to the true and full extent of need. Any probation officer with a conventional case load will agree that this is an unheard of but wonderful prospect.

The simple, basic design of the Home Detention program is to take a child out of detention (or, if possible, keep him from being admitted in the first place) and to put him back home and back in school. At the same time, he is put under the supervision of a man called a Community Youth Leader who is a full-time employee and who has a case load limit of five such children.

Our youth leaders in St. Louis were recruited in most instances

chrough an OEO program called Concentrated Employment Program. They are men who had no marketable job skills and were being helped to find employment. We set no requirements at all as to education or prior experience. We looked only for certain intangible characteristics, such as personal warmth, a generally healthy personality, and an enthusiasm about helping youngsters. The men we hire are themselves indigenous to the same neighborhoods and culture from which most of the children come.

The plan has been to give each youth leader no office, no desk, no paper work, and no set working hours. We have a telephone contact at the detention home where they can call in frequently and keep us constantly able to reach them. Otherwise, we make no requirement as to scheduled time. A youth leader's instructions are only basic. He is told that his job is to keep his five boys out of trouble and available to the court. That is all. It is up to him to figure out how to do that and as long as it is legal, ethical, and humane he is free to employ any approach that he sees as appropriate on an individual case basis. He is free to arrange his time to suit himself, and it is made very clear that we are completely unconcerned about how much time he spends. We make no effort to keep record of his hours. If he can keep his five charges trouble-free with the expenditure of an hour or two per day that is just great, and every bit worth the full time pay.

What in fact actually happens when a youth leader is given only five boys to supervise and no requirement as to working hours? What happens is that he works very hard and very long hours.

As anyone in juvenile court work well understands, children

ordinarily found in detention homes are from multi-problem families. They are often one-parent families and the bewildering burden of problems in contrast with the inadequacy of family capability to cope, is sometimes little short of tragic. My opening examples give some small hint of this. The result is that it is no longer appropriate to talk about a youth leader "supervising a boy." It is more dynamic than that. It is "involvement with a family." The youth leader becomes in some cases almost like another member of the family. His contact with them is usually every day and is a matter of constant practical help and friendship.

We make no pretense here of having the youth leaders offer a clinical type of service. In fact, we avoid it. The youth leaders are given just two weeks of training as they start the job, and they do receive continuing and close supervision from an experienced professional. The training and the supervision is kept at a very practical level with no suggestion to the youth leader that he is a therapist. If a youth leader sees that a more clinical kind of help is needed, it is his responsibility to refer and follow through.

Remember, that this program relates only to detention. The function of the youth leader is only the same as the function of a detention facility--to keep a boy or girl from running away or getting into new trouble during just those few days that he is waiting for the dispositional hearing in court. Detention is not geared for long-term therapy. When the case is disposed of in court and the boy is put on probation or in an institution, that is where the longer term work with him begins.

The effectiveness of the Home Detention program and its youth leaders is judged altogether by the utterly simple criteria of whether the children transferred to it from secure detention do, in fact, appear for their court hearings and without any criminal type delinquencies having been committed in the meantime.

A program duration of only seven months so far is hardly enough to prove anything, but we do find reason in our experience for cautious optimism. Reporting to you on the first 220 children placed in this program, we can say that not one absconding has occurred. Every child so far has remained in touch with our youth leaders and has been in court when scheduled. Five new delinquencies have occurred. One was the theft of 25¢ from a newsboy. One boy was caught riding in a stolen car. One boy stole some clothes from another boy in the group home where both were staying. Another was charged with destruction of property when he broke a window in his own home during a family crisis. And, we had one instance of sniffing glue. As you can see, we have been fortunately free of the kinds of delinquency that would be seriously disturbing to the community. This is hardly surprising when you know the sort of job the youth leaders do every day.

Our youth leaders work in pairs, and each man keeps some acquaintance with his partner's five boys so that they can help each other. Involvement with the families is so constant that sometimes the only way a youth leader can get a day for his personal time off is to have his partner stay available in his place. The men function as friends to both the boys and their parents. They help the youngsters plan their free time and they participate with them in recreational

activities. They are available at any time to the police, teachers, parents, and to the boys themselves when the least problem arises. A secretary at the detention home stays in telephone contact throughout each day and can always locate the youth leader within an hour when needed.

These comments have so far referred only to boys simply because in the early experimental stage we did not try to work with girls until we could see how the plan would work with boys. In the last month, we have just begun to extend the service to girls also. This will gradually increase as we expand capability, but so far the number of girls in the program is limited to what our one new female youth leader can handle.

Presently, there are twelve youth leaders in this program; and we could use more if we were to keep pace with the need. The major problems that we have encountered are the kinds of problems that are commonly associated with success. There is a tendency for the program to be overused. The court sees a boy stabilized in the community to everyone's surprise and instead of committing to a training school puts him on probation on condition that he continue in this program where he is getting help in proportion to his great need. We have had to resist this and insist that probation cases must go on regular probation case loads. It is a mean position to take, but a realistic one. Just as soon as our youth leaders would become overloaded their effectiveness would be lost and all the children would suffer. The proper answer must not be to jeopardize the Home Detention program, but to introduce some of this same rich service into the probation

work. Our intransigency on this seems to be justified. The probation officers are now quite impressed with the usefulness of this helping process and recently have taken steps to get funding for an adaptation of it in the probation setting.

Altogether our experience is that there are more than enough prospective youth leaders of suitable temperament available and needing jobs; that they respond so to the challenge of helping youngsters in this way that they are willing to work demanding hours that permit no moonlighting; that constant, understanding, practical help at a friendship level is more effective in stabilizing a boy or girl than expensive but infrequent contact with a clinician; that the cost of this service, intensive as it is, is about half the cost of secure detention per child per day; and that the community is adequately safe from these children when they are under such an umbrella of control and care.

And perhaps most encouraging of all, if the program sustains the effectiveness that we are seeing so far, it should be extended well beyond the detention setting and become adapted as a vital new adjunct to probation, and an effective alternative to the training school.

ACTION RESEARCH AS A CHANGE MODEL FOR CORRECTIONS

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Introduction

This paper will first review a series of experimental treatment projects for delinquents; projects which taken together represent a programatic thrust in the area of Differential Treatment of offenders. These action research projects will then be viewed in terms of their impact on the agency in which they operate and the points of strain between the experimental projects and the parent agency will be conceptualized. Some solutions to the conflict points will be suggested, and problems of transferring the whole change model to another agency discussed.

An Overview of Differential Treatment Studies

Beginning with the Community Treatment Project (CTP) in 1961, a number of experimental treatment projects for delinquents have developed around a theory of differential use of program elements. The question asked in this series of studies has been: What kinds of treatment programs conducted by what kinds of workers in what kinds of settings are best for what kinds of juvenile offenders? In order to approach these investigations, it has been necessary to have a way of classifying offenders, a way of classifying workers, a way of

classifying treatment environments, and a way of classifying treatment methods. Assuming that ones goal is an overall reduction in delinquency, one can--with these various classification schemata--proceed to "match" treaters, environments, and methods with types of delinquents in a manner calculated to bring about the maximum positive impact.

The rationale for Differential Treatment goes something like this: One of the few agreed-upon "facts" in the field of corrections is that offenders are not all alike; that is, they differ from each other, not only in the form of their offense, but also in the reasons for and the meaning of their crime. Some individuals violate the law because the peer group on which they are dependent for approval prescribed criminal behavior as the price of acceptance, or because the values which they have internalized are those of a deviant subculture. Other individuals break laws because of insufficient socialization, which has left them at the mercy of any except the most protected of environments. Still others are delinquently acting out internal conflicts, identity struggles, or family crises. This list is meant to be illustrative.

If one accepts the notion that offenders are different from each other in the reason for their law violations, the implication follows that attempts to change the offender into a non-offender will vary in ways which are relevant to the cause. Ideally, the goals of treatment will relate in some direct manner to the causes of the delinquency, and the treatment methods will relate specifically to the goals for the various offender subgroups.

The case for differential treatment was given support by two studies conducted in California during the 1950's (Grant, 1959; Adams, 1961). In both of these studies, specific treatment methods--in one study, individual interview therapy and in the other, three types of group treatment--were found to be differentiallv effective with different types of offenders. Both studies showed that by lumping together all kinds of offenders, the beneficial effects of the treatment program on some individuals, together with the detrimental effects of the same treatment program on other individuals, masked and cancelled out each other. It is likely that, in many treatment studies, this masking effect has occurred because the data have not been viewed in sufficiently complex fashion, or because the crucial dimension, the classification of subjects in a treatment-relevant way, was missing.

The series of projects to be described have been jointly sponsored by the State of California and/or the American Justice Institute and the National Institute of Mental Health. They all involve programs developed within the California Youth Authority, the state agency to which county courts commit youthful offenders who are beyond the handling capabilities of county probation departments. The target population of these studies may thus be described as serious or habitual delinquents.

Phase I of the Community Treatment Project operated from 1961 to 1969. This study, conducted in California's Central Valley, involved a comparison of the impact of institutional and intensive community-based programs on particular subgroups of the delinquent population.

Cases were randomly assigned to institutional and community programs, and then followed in terms of subsequent behavior in the community and in terms of personal and attitude change as reflected in psychological tests given before and after intensive treatment.

No assumption was made that either community of institutional programs would be preferable across-the-board. Instead, the questions asked were: For what kinds of delinquents is a community alternative to institutionalization feasible and preferable? What kinds of delinquents require or benefit from a period of incarceration?

When eight delinquent subtypes were considered separately, several subgroups showed a large difference in favor of the community program, one subgroup showing a difference in favor of the institution program. Several subgroups showed contradictory evidence or minimal differences.

By 1964, the feasibility of treating a large proportion of the juvenile offender population in intensive community programs, rather than in institutions was a settled issue. For approximately 50 percent of the population, the community alternative seemed a preferable one. What was unclear was which particular program element or combination of elements accounted for the differences in success rates. In an effort to begin sorting this out, Phase II of the Community Treatment Project was begun in the San Francisco area. This experiment involved a three-way design in which two types of community programs were compared with each other and with the traditional institutional program. One of the community units was based on the treatment model developed in Phase I of CTP (the Differential Treatment Model),

and the second community unit was based on a different theory and treatment model (Guided Group Interaction). Consistent with the study of differential impact, assessment of the three programs was made with regard to the various delinquent subtypes, separately. Overall findings favored the Differential Treatment Unit, although the Guided Group Interaction program did better with some subtypes than with others.

Beginning in 1965 and 1966, two projects were launched which had as major themes the study of differential settings or the attempt to develop treatment environments, which are specific to the management and to the growth needs of specific subgroups within the delinquent population. The first of these projects was the Preston Typology Study (Jesness, 1971). Using an experimental-control design, delinquent youths of a given subtype were placed randomly in homogeneous living units, only boys of one subtype in the unit, and in the traditional heterogeneous living units. The staff's task in the experimental units was to develop management and treatment techniques specific to the needs of the offenders in their particular living unit. The researchers' task was to compare the impact of the program on experimental boys of a given subtype with the impact of the regular program on boys of the same subtype placed in the heterogeneous units. Homogeneity consistently decreased management problems, with the main advantage of the homogeneous groups occurring for three of six subtypes studied.

The second study of differential settings involved the use of group homes for cases involved in the Central Valley units of the Community Treatment Project (Palmer, et al, 1972). Differential Treatment

thinking suggests that home atmospheres and attitudes which may be helpful to some kinds of delinquent youths may be non-helpful or even detrimental to other kinds of youths. The goals of the Group Home Project then were to develop five types of group homes with four to six youths in each. Each home was to represent an environment specifically related to the growth and development needs of particular types of delinquent youths. Five kinds of group homes were, in fact, developed and have been described.

One further study of setting is going on in the Community Treatment Project, Phase III. A question being asked is whether the likelihood of achieving specified treatment objectives with certain offenders would be considerably increased if treatment were to begin, not within the community proper, but within a Differential Treatment-oriented residential setting. Data at this point shows the residential program to have advantages only for one or two subtypes.

A further attempt to carry out the study of the differential impact of specific treatment methods on various subtypes of delinquents began in 1968 in the Northern California Youth Center Project. This program was implemented in two institutional settings. The Karl Holton School developed its treatment program around Behavior Modification principles, and the O. H. Close School, around Transactional Analysis principles (Jesness, et al, 1972). As in CTP, Phase II, the question asked was: Which treatment model shows the greatest payoff for each specific subtype of the offender population?

An area of study which runs through all of these projects involves the attempt to "match" clients and workers. The Community Treatment Project began in 1961 to hire as workers individuals whose area of sensitivity, talents, and interests appeared to be "right" for given types of youths. During CTP, Phases I and II, five worker styles were identified based on research evidence (Palmer, 1971). Data indicates large recidivism rate differences in favor of youth assigned to workers whose style and stance are well matched to their needs; differences which hold up even two years beyond discharge from the agency.

At the heart of all of these studies of differential treatment is the classification of the target populations into treatment-relevant categories. The classification system utilized in all of these experiments is based on Interpersonal Maturity Level (I-level) theory (Sullivan, et al, 1959). The first application of the theory to the offender population began in the early 1950's in a study of military offenders. A major elaboration of the Interpersonal Maturity Classification occurred in 1960-1961 with the beginnings of the Community Treatment Project.

The theory will not be described here except to say that a developmental continuum of social maturity is described, and individuals are characterized in terms of the maturity level or I-level they have reached. The range of maturity levels found in a delinquent population is from Maturity Level 2 (Integration Level 2 or I_2) to Maturity Level 5 (I_5). Level 5 is infrequent enough that, for all practical purposes, use of Levels 2 through 4 describes the

juvenile delinquent population. I-level 5 individuals are found more often in an adult-offender population.

The elaboration that came with the development of the Community Treatment Project involved a further subdividing of each I-level group into subtypes, which define typical behavioral response patterns. In this manner, nine delinquent subtypes were identified. The classification system is such that it separates those individuals for whom the crime-causal factors are primarily internal, those for whom the factors are primarily environmental, and those for whom offense behavior results from an interaction between the two. The nine subtypes are described by lists of items which characterize the manner in which the members of each group perceive the world, respond to the world, and are perceived by others. The description of the nine delinquent subtypes, with predicted most effective intervention or treatment plans, combine to make up the Differential Treatment Model. This Model has been revised and expanded over the years of experimentation in CTP (Warren, 1966). The classification system is the one which is used in the Differential Treatment projects described here.

Impact to the Parent Agency

Since social agency change is a complex matter, identification of factors leading to that change must of necessity be somewhat subjective. Ten developments in the California Youth Authority can be identified as resulting partially, if not solely, from the impact of this series of Differential Treatment projects.

1. I-level classification is now being used for all new intakes into the California Youth Authority. Eighteen probation departments in California also utilize the classification system. (The CYA serves as a consultant for probation departments.

2. The Center for Training in Differential Treatment has been established and operates in close collaboration with the Youth Authority. The goal of CTDT is the development of a training model for supporting correctional agencies in their efforts to develop more rational and effective treatment programs. A subgoal is the development of training curricula for agencies utilizing I-level and Differential Treatment.

3. As a result of discovering the management advantages of homogeneous living units, a number of Youth Authority institutions are utilizing such assignments. Other institutions have substituted a planned composition of subtypes in living units rather than the former random assignment.

4. A major aspect of Differential Treatment planning involves the careful establishment of individualized goals for offenders, identifying those aspects of the offender and/or his environment, which will have to be "corrected." This component of individualized goal-setting has become wide spread throughout the agency.

5. Program descriptions and other written material emanating from the department much more often specify those kinds of offenders toward which a particular program is being aimed. An example can be found in the development of group homes for specified kinds of individuals.

6. Since the operational feasibility of treating a large proportion of the delinquent population in the community, without prior institutionalization, has been clearly demonstrated, the California Youth Authority now operates a number of in-lieu-of-institutionalization community units.

7. Favorable experiences in the Community Treatment Project made a major contribution to the development of the Probation Subsidy Law, passed in the California legislature in 1965. It was apparent that, if intensive treatment conducted in the youth's home community could be successful when

organized through a state agency, the same results might well be accomplished by the county probation departments without commitment of the youth to the state. There are all sorts of evidence that Probation Subsidy is "working," both in the juvenile and adult system. Institution populations have been declining for a number of years with commitments to the state down about 40 percent from prior levels. The state estimates a net saving of $126,000,000 from institutions closed or not opened.

8. A well-known experience in the correctional world is that innovative programs are dropped when the research phase is over. In contrast, the Guided Group Interaction Program, Behavior Modification and Transactional Analysis programs are continuing, even though the experimental phase is over. This may result from on-going training programs for staff-programs, which have led to great staff enthusiasm. It may also be a result of a careful attempt to integrate the programs into the total agency.

9. Research programs of the Youth Authority, even those outside the Differential Treatment programs, have begun to analyze their data differentially by subgroups of offenders. There is also some tendency to measure change in ways which are specific to the goal specified for the offender subgroup.

10. Research efforts along the Differential Treatment theme continue. In addition to the previously-mentioned Community Treatment Project, Phase III, two other projects are currently under way. Project SEQUIL is an attempt to simplify I-level classification procedures, utilizing a three-step diagostic process. The Cooperative Behavior Demonstration Project is an attempt to extend the Behavior Modification and Transactional Analysis programs into community settings.

Strains on the Agency

Clearly, the impact of the Differential Treatment programs on the agency has not occurred without impingement or conflict points reflecting

strains on the agency. (The discussion in this area involves experience with a number of agencies at the state and county levels.) An attempt has been made to identify conflict points as well as potential solutions to some of the conflicts raised. The solutions cover a broad range of activities, representing a strategy for implementation of a Differential Treatment program. Although it is clear that past programs have resulted in social agency change, it should be noted that in these instances the programs have never been operated with organizational change as the conscious goal. Rather, program staff have struggled with organizational constraints in areas of policies and procedures on behalf of an opportunity to do whatever seemed to be required in order to carry out a real treatment program in some part of their agency. With increasingly explicit conceptualization in this area, agency change may in the future come, not so much from "exceptions to the rule," but rather from a conscious management decision on operational principle.

A series of impingement points between treatment programs and parent organizations are presented. Non-exhaustive illustrative material is used. Some of the issues might well arise in connection with the development of any treatment program; others are specific to Differential Treatment. The illustrations are given in seven areas of organizational characteristics and represent actual issues which have arisen during the attempted implementation of Differential Treatment programs.

Organizational Objectives and Goals

Differences in operating goals between central administration and treatment unit.--The usual differences between the maintenance goals of administration and instrumental goals of line staff are exaggerated when treatment is introduced. Treatment unit has goals of life-long non-offense behavior, life-long non-cost to society, and productive citizenship on the part of treated clients. Administration may accept instrumental goals as appropriate to the operating units but may focus primarily on getting the client through a period of incarceration with a minimum of management problems, and then on getting the client through a limited period of aftercare with little offense behavior showing. Conflicts show up in statements from central office to field: "You people can't bear to let go of a case." "Your workers must be overidentified with the clients." "Why does your treatment take so long?" "Your case turnover is too low and costs too much."

Staff morale.--Because of goal differences, treatment staff are seen by central administration as "far out," "not agency men," "seeing themselves as 'special.'"

Philosophy and Value Systems

Value focus differences in case decision-making.--The therapist may wish not to remove client from program following a law violation or rule infraction if long-run nondelinquency is at stake. Treater's knowledge of case may lead to preference for keeping case in program. Agency may worry about what "community;" i.e., usually police or custody staff will think about agency being "soft" on clients.

Values and training priorities.--Agency has a policy of only X number of hours of training per year per worker. Agency practices call for training in defensive driving and report writing. Treatment unit wants training in Transactional Analysis, Guided Group Interaction, and consultation in psychoanalytic techniques.

Innovative practices.--Agency policy prohibits taking clients to workers' homes. Treater feels need to model for client what a man is like in relation to a family.

Decentralized autonomy re-case (treatment) decisions.--Treatment staff believe control for case decisions needs to be in the hands of a person who knows most about what's going on at the line staff level. For example, treater should be able to decide at the end of the group meeting (8:00 a.m.) that a youth needs to be placed in temporary detention or needs to be released from detention. Agency policy is that these decisions must be made by a Board or Judge, who will be available "next Tuesday."

Allocation of funds.--Agency practice provides equal amounts of money for clients per work unit per worker or per client. Differential Treatment staff believes available money should be used on the basis of treatment relevant needs; for example, some youth see giving hamburgers, clothing as love and concern while some others see it as an inappropriate "demand for dependence."

Personnel Composition and Management

Differential Treatment calls for the "matching" of workers and clients.--"Matching" comes into conflict with usual agency practices

at these points:

1. Differential Treatment calls for hiring a range of kinds of workers, some of which will be unacceptable to some supervisors. For example, supervisors with social work backgrounds are reluctant to hire staff who work well with I_3 Manipulator clients. "Mp" workers are highly self-confident, coming on strong with both clients and supervisors, are stubborn, aggressive, critical of the agency, insufficiently humble.

2. The development of staff into specialists, as opposed to generalists, interferes with promotional patterns.

3. Geographic assignments of field staff must be enlarged to handle "matched" caseloads. Geographical territories of workers will overlap.

4. Planned heterogeneity of staff in any one unit leads to group dynamics issues and need for on-going T groups.

5. Role of unit supervisor is changed; the treatment supervisor is no longer the super-expert. Instead of trying to teach workers what he knows, the treatment supervisor tries to maximize each worker's natural style.

6. Workers need differential rewards. Some workers will get payoff from case progress; others from self image as "treater," from peer group status, from professional opportunity, etc.

7. Hiring of new staff, according to natural worker stance, interferes with Civil Service procedures of hiring, which demands hiring from among top three candidates on list.

8. Agency practice of seniority leading to preferred assignments near home, daytime shift, etc. has interference.

Salary level of case-manager positions.--Treatment units believe that treater specialists should have advanced salary or position level over agency's usual journeyman level. Central administration feels

that such a stance would create bad morale among workers in non-special units.

Organizational Structure

Relationship of unit (subsystem) to total organization.--Treatment unit has needs different from typical unit; for example, an acceptance that treatment needs some first. Special space, more foster homes, more money for food and supplies, station wagons rather than sedans, a general loosening of the rules of control lead to the labeling of the unit as "special," especially demanding, by the rest of the agency. Treatment unit staffs tend to identify with unit, not agency. Group cohesiveness in treatment unit is high, with many intra-unit rewards for workers. As a result, bosses are suspicious, may be impressed or even in awe, but also distrustful of basic loyalties of workers, a situation similar to the "cosmopolitan" vs. "local" issue.

Relationship of unit (subsystem) to outside organizations.--If a unit is "successful," many visitors arrive. Visitors want to talk to the staff of a unit, not central administration. Visitors may know more about program than the central administration does, thus embarrassing bosses. Credit or praise for a given unit from outside is a threat to the agency.

Worker time allotments.--Treatment programs need different time allotments contrary to those typically accepted by the agency for case diagnosis, staffing, treatment planning, case reviews, treatment supervision, training, thinking, etc.

Caseload size issues.--Very low (by agency standards) caseloads required in order to carry out Differential Treatment. Different size caseloads may be required for different workers.

Focus on worker supervision time.--Agency has practice of supervision time consisting primarily of supervisor conducting "book check" with worker; checking the last time the worker saw the client, and thus protecting agency in case of "community" complaints. Treatment unit needs supervision time to "develop the worker," with the possibility that "the book may not get checked."

Communication channels.--Even when top administration supports a program, middle management may be resistant to innovation, may feel that the administrator gives only lip service. Treatment-program staff may feel forced to bypass middle management to survive, attempting to communicate to the top via outside research or consultation channels.

Interference with client-grouping arrangements required by Differential Treatment.--Agency groups clients, particularly in institutions by age, by racial balance, by educational or work assignment. Grouping for Differential Treatment, which may involve homogeneity by I-level subtype, upsets other arrangements. The agency may be particularly concerned about racial imbalance; e.g., a higher than typical proportion of Caucasians in Neurotic Units, a higher than typical proportion of Mexican-Americans in Cultural Conformist Units.

Technology

In order to carry out Differential Treatment programs, an agency must increase technical skills available in the organization. Even in

agencies staffed with clinical talent, treatment knowledge and research skills, considerable staff training is required to learn differential diagnostic methods and Differential Treatment planning procedures. For agencies less well prepared, the need for considerable technical advancement may become visible with initiation of treatment program, such as: improved population accounting procedures, improved feedback to line staff from decision-makers, increased skill in using community resources, improved cost analysis.

Physical Environment

Program setting.--Agency stance for field programs is "see the client in the field; i.e., his home, school, job, streets." Treatment-unit staff wants to see the client in the office as well, maintaining drop-in facility for clients who are at loose ends. The treatment unit thus requires change in physical structure and location of space. While the agency might like to have neat, clean downtown offices, units may need store-front office in high-delinquency area.

24-hour case.--Since the treatment unit is more likely to be aware of regular program of crises in lives of clients, greater need is felt for 24-hour emergency care facilities. Alternatives (available beds in detention facility, in group homes, at drop-in facility) all add a budget category.

In-and-out access.--The agency typically has programs operating in two settings--"in" and "out." A treatment program prefers easy in-and-out arrangements which require that residential facilities be

within short distance of field program.

Socio-Political Environment

Effect of external environment.--Sudden downward shifts in munificence of the environment, which occur in state correctional programs during some administrations will most easily hit innovative programs or what agency sees as fringe activities. Sudden upward shift in munificence of the environment; e.g., probation departments following subsidy legislation, may create panic because staffs have always said they could really run a successful program if they had the resources.

"Double message" to staff.--An encouragement from central administration for staff to engage in "treatment" along with a political climate, which provides minimal financial resources and also takes a "get tough" policy with offenders, comes across to staff as a "double message." Message creates a disparity between aspirations and possible achievement and leads to morale problem.

Attitudes toward innovation.--Low budget, as well as low-risk attitudes, leads to an agency asking: "When will the experiment be over so we can get back to business?" What do you mean--you raised more questions than you answered!"

Communication.--Repressive external environment may interfere with comfortable open communication, leading to under-the-table arrangements, which will ultimately backfire.

Transferring the Change Model to Another Agency

At the point in time when program implementers are attempting

to conceptualize the potential strains on the agency imposed by the introduction of a Differential Treatment program, the strains will not be felt all at once. Awareness of the issues will occur gradually as the program develops. As impingement problems are identified, solutions will be found which will permit the program to continue; or they will not be found, and the program will die out.

Once the potential implementation strains can be predicted, however, administrators have a right to know before agreeing to program implementation. Faced with this "warning," one may wonder whether an agency administrator will agree to innovation, particularly without knowing whether such programs would have pay-off for his agency. How can an agency be encouraged to accept real innovation with its risk of negative results, continual requests for special dispensations, extra funding, etc.? This question can be restated to ask how an operating agency can begin to think of its new programs in a social laboratory light, with respect and status for the agency to result from a willingness to innovative rather than from having an infallible program. Some governmental agencies, which have been greatly concerned with their public image, have gained tremendous positive feedback nationally for their willingness to experiment.

It has often been noted that a small amount of outside money will prime the innovation pump. If an administrator doesn't have to risk his own limited budget on a questionable project, he may be more willing to try something new. Such funds are often spent on staff training--training being one step short of making the decision to develop innovative programs. Following staff training, the administrator may

be encouraged to establish a small pilot program, with evaluation attached. There are a number of advantages to proceeding in this way.

First, the administrator is not commiting himself to full implementation of the innovative program, but only to a pilot study. Broader implementation in the agency will be decided at a later date. Second, the research posture can reduce resistance. Instead of a stance of "Here's how to do it;" the research stance suggests "We don't know; let's try X, and we'll find out."

A third advantage accrues from the role which an action researcher can play. He can be seen as a program asset by giving help to a staff in the conceptualization of goals and procedures for reaching them. A researcher in the action arena rather than in the laboratory can be viewed by the program staff as seeing events in all their realistic complexity and therefore "practical." The researcher need not play the role of "skeptic" personified, but instead the role of a searcher for truth whose training has prepared him to understand the nature of evidence.

Transferring an innovative program from one agency to another via action research on a pilot program involves a long and complicated process. Yet, a number of things would be accomplished which otherwise might not. First, the agency would end up with both an innovative operation and action research capability, which could then be transferred to another pilot effort. Second, the research component would help to prevent the "watering down" of program elements, which often occurs in program transfer. And finally, the staff of the innovative program, which now operates within the agency, can represent a

force for social agency change--change which could not be brought about through pressure from outside the agency.

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THE COMMUNITY ROLE IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PROGRAMS

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Introduction

Diversion from the juvenile criminal justice system is an important issue, but it is only one dimension of the juvenile delinquency problem. If one is addressing the issue of what makes a diversion program effective, one must also address the issue of what makes any juvenile delinquency program, whether it focuses on diversion, prevention, control, or rehabilitation.

The following paper will focus directly on the role of the community in any potentially effective juvenile delinquency program. It will also focus indirectly on the role of government with respect to communities in attacking the juvenile delinquency problem more effectively. The community focus or more specifically the neighborhood focus of this paper was selected because (a) juvenile delinquency and youth crime occur on the streets in neighborhoods, (b) programs aimed at juvenile delinquency should be utlimately operationalized on the streets of neighborhoods, (c) those persons and groups who are most directly involved in the problem reside in the neighborhoods

where the juvenile crimes occur, and (d) those persons and groups that potentially have the greatest positive impact on the problem and its solution also reside at the neighborhood level of social organization.

Before discussing the community role in juvenile delinquency programs, one should first analyze the problem of the traditional federal role and other governmental roles with respect to providing services to people in communities. Following this brief analysis, the paper will develop an alternative strategy, based on the concepts of "New Federalism" and supported by pertinent sociological and psychological data. Included in this analysis will be a discussion of what a community is and what community involvement means, both in terms of (a) the community's role in planning and implementing federally funded programs, and (b) the community's role as an effective agent in the prevention and reduction of juvenile delinquency and youth crime. The paper will also discuss various strategies to develop greater community involvement with respect to the juvenile delinquency and crime problem and ways to assess the amount of community involvement at any given point in time. Finally, the paper will cover a number of areas for needed research, which should be conducted over the near term, if a significant impact on the problem of juvenile delinquency and youth crime is to be made.

The Failures of Governmental Paternalism (1)

The Nixon Administration's "New Federalism" is moving strongly toward decentralizing or de-paternalizing the functions of the federal

government, "to help regain control of our national destiny by returning a greater share of control to state and local governments and to the people" (President Nixon, August, 1969) . . . . to the end that public confidence will be restored and that the delivery of services, needed and required by the public, will be accomplished more responsively, effectively and efficiently. This decentralization policy is reversing a trend of several decades of centralizing paternalistic power in Washington. This significant redefinition of the federal role is presently evolving, as the structures for decentralization are developed and implemented.

The need to decentralize paternalistic decision making from Washington has growing amounts of empirical support from the social sciences:

As Moynihan (1968) and Sundquist (1969) and other social scientists have noted, the past paternalistic federal role could be said to have inadvertently weakened a number of basic social structures and socializing processes in our society. The most glaring failure has been in the welfare area, where the old welfare program required that fathers leave the family unit, so that the needy family could be eligible for welfare benefits. The welfare problem has been dramatically linked to the juvenile delinquency problem recently by Dorothy Miller (1972). In a 15-year longitudinal study of children of welfare parents, convict parents, mentally ill (mostly schizophrenic) parents, Miller found that of all these "high risk" groups, the children of welfare families had the highest rates of delinquency

and youth crime. In addition to breaking up the family unit, the most basic socializing group in our society, the welfare system inadvertently forces welfare families into crime. Since most welfare benefits are so low that a family in an urban area cannot survive on them, and since welfare policies prohibit recipients from supplementing their incomes through legitimate means, these welfare families are forced to supplement their incomes with an "illegal street game." In a very real sense, the present welfare system makes family "survival" contingent upon "crime."

The present welfare system is only one example of how a paternalistic governmental role has failed to meet people's needs. The "War on Poverty" had its failures, as noted by Sanford Kravitz in Perspectives on Poverty: On Fighting Poverty (1969, pp. 58-59)

1. Many voluntary "welfare" programs were not reaching the poor.
2. If they were reaching the poor, the services offered were often inappropriate.
3. Services aimed at meeting needs of disadvantaged people were typically fragmented and unrelated.
4. Realistic understanding by professionals and community leaders of the problems faced by the poor was limited.
5. Each specialty field was typically working in encapsulated fashion on a particular kind of problem, without awareness of the other fields or of efforts toward interlock.
6. There was little political leadership involvement in the decision-making processes of voluntary social welfare.
7. There was little or no serious participation of program beneficiaries in programs being planned and implemented by professionals and elite community leadership.

A paternalistic stance in government, fostered by many federal policies, which minimizes community involvement in or participation

by the consumers of programs, has failed not only in meeting people's needs, but also has exacerbated many social problems related to juvenile delinquency. As the White House Conference on Children noted in its Report to the President (1971, pp. 358-359):

> Schools, welfare agencies, police and courts, and mental health and institutions all, unfortunately undermine respect for individual and social differences. They abuse their client's rights through a system of non-service, or at best brutalized service, to which Black, Indian, Spanish-speaking, and Oriental adults and children can all testify.
>
> Most observers agree that our present system fails for the following reasons:
>
> Service delivery arrangements are geared more to professional and field needs than those of children.
>
> Only a fraction of the population in need is reached, and too often with too little, too late.
>
> We deal primarily with crises rather than prevention.
>
> Although we know that problems often begin in infancy, we develop only intervention programs for those who have passed this critical period.
>
> We need to revise the basis upon which services are offered, provide instruments and agents who act on the behalf of children, and utilize and train new personnel. Those served by institutions and programs should have some voice in their control and direction. In today's changing environment, these institutions can prevent further alienation only by actually reflecting the citizen's concerns and needs. Such participation will not only make these agencies more responsive to those they serve, but will also lead to better services by these agencies. As the "Coleman Report" noted on schools, the child's sense of involvement in, and responsiveness to the school is important to how well he learns in that school.
>
> Individuals, agencies, and public bodies providing services to children have seldom been held legally accountable for ensuring their client's rights for their own overall performance. It is not enough, for example, to assert and enforce the right of a child to education; the right to quality education. As with the other rights described, the assertion

> of this right must include a standard of performance and a positive obligation of the service-giving party to deliver it. Agencies not meeting recommended standards should face a variety of charges, including malpractice liability. To hold such agencies responsible raises questions as to sovreign immunity, the defenses of the legislative domain, as well as the failure to meet professional standards and practices.

When individuals have no role in deciding their fate or in demanding quality public services, they tend to become alienated. Alienation tends to lead to a sense of helplessness and a lack of trust in the formal social structures and democratic processes of society. If people cannot trust government at all levels and the legitimate means established by law to meet their needs, social instability and anomie are likely to result . . . the breeding ground for crime and delinquency. As the Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (1967) of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice noted:

> . . . The delinquency rate in an area will be low despite bad housing, bad location, and poverty if the area is socially stable. Social instability under the physical conditions of slum life provides the opportunity for the development of delinquency (p. 305). (Underscoring added).

To what extent do paternalistic practices at all levels of government, and especially at the community level of government, foster alienation and anomie among the citizenry? How do citizens feel about "Who speaks for the community?"

A recent study by Fiedler, Fiedler and Campf (1971) addressed these questions. Highlights of the study follow:

> A survey in an unincorporated urban area (approximately 80,000 population in area near Seattle, Washington) compared the major community problems of concern to two groups:

(a) a randomly selected sample of listed telephone subscribers, and (b) community leaders identified through nominations and reputational methods. In addition to asking about the major problems of the community, the randomly selected telephone subscribers were also asked to indicate for each problem (a) the persons or organizations to whom they looked for information and advice, (b) whom they considered qualified to speak for them, and (c) whom they expected to act in their behalf in the solution of these problems. The results of these surveys showed a large divergence of concerns expressed by the random samples and the reputed community leaders, as well as a striking number of respondents who felt themselves without spokesmen. (p. 324).

In reporting the results of the study, the authors note:

. . . the concerns of the community leaders and the sample of householders differ substantially. In fact, we find an inverse relationship between the proportion of times a problem was mentioned by prominent community persons and the proportion of time it was named by the sample of householders. A rank order correlation comparing these proportions of named problem areas yields a startling -.74 which is significant at the .05 level and indicates that the concerns most frequently voiced by one group tended to be least often mentioned by the other group of respondents. (p. 329).

. . . By far the most startling finding here was the large number of residents who do not know who their spokesman might be, who either feel that no one speaks for them, or who are able to refer only to some nonspecific person in the community ("Someone in the neighborhood, I suppose"). Thus, two-thirds of the respondents in essence feel unrepresented. (p. 330-331).

The differences in the ways the residents and the leaders viewed problems differed significantly. For example, the two major problems perceived by the residents were: (1) no problem satisfied and (2) crime/vandalism. Not one community leader indicated these issues to be problems. It is also interesting to note that only two community residents, out of nearly 400 interviewed, named anyone who was nominated as a community leader by other reputed community leaders. The authors

conclude: "The results of the surveys bear out the frequently voiced complaint that there are communication gaps between the community residents and the local government." (p. 332).

A recent article in the Wall Street Journal (3/17/72) reported that the findings of the above study might be generalized nationwide. On the basis of thousands of interviews across the country, the major pollsters and political analysts report the following "malaise" to underly the nation's mood, or the major issue as perceived by the public:

> Underlying all the other issues is a deepening malaise among voters. It shows up mainly as an anxiety about where the country is heading, a sense of helplessness against the hazards of modern life, and a growing distrust of the nation's leaders --whether politicians, businessmen, military officers or educators. (p.1).
>
> One pollster labels the phenomenon "systemic alienation". . .
>
> . . . a widespread and growing feeling that the political system isn't responsive to people's real needs, that politicians and other leaders can't be trusted, and that society's major institutions are unfair to "the little guy." The analysts have different labels and definitions for this phenomenon, but they all agree it is there. (p. 20).

An Alternative to the Traditional Federal Role

The Administration's "New Federalism" effort is aimed at giving more power back to the people, at reversing the decades of growing paternalism of government, and at restoring public trust and confidence in the structures of government that we now have.

To date the "New Federalism" has resulted in significant moves toward the decentralization of both decision making and federal monies, including the Federal-Regional Councils at the regional level of

government, block grant programs, pending revenue sharing programs to the state level of government, and extra monies to cities (e.g., the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration High Impact Cities Program, the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Planned Variations Cities, etc.) for use in planning local strategies to meet community needs more effectively.

Since juvenile delinquency is basically a community problem that must be solved at the community level, this paper will apply the principles of the "New Federalism" to the community and to effective problem solving at the local level of government, especially with regard to the problem of juvenile delinquency and youth crime.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY PROGRAMS

Definitions of "Community" and "Community Involvement".--The term "community" has been used loosely to describe anything ranging from a large urban area to a small neighborhood. The careless use of the term has obscured its meaning, as it was originally developed in relation to dynamic social processes. According to Eysenck's Encyclopedia of Psychology (Vol. I., 1972, p. 192):

> . . . The word community denotes social groups which, through firm bonds between their members (cohesion, cohesiveness) seek spontaneously to achieve common objectives, which frequently have emotional overtones (e.g., family, religious groups). Society is a more complex form which develops from communities.

Community in this definition does not refer to an abstract category of people, perhaps, defined by geographical boundaries; instead this definition refers to "community" as being a socially dynamic, socially stable, cohesive group. Looking at the Fiedler, et al. study and the Wall Street Journal article, the socially dynamic, socially stable, cohesive group notion of "community" is becoming a meaningless term to describe groups of people in physical proximity, especially in high crime urban areas. Today an urban area or city cannot be defined as a cluster of "communities"; instead, this area might be better defined as a cluster of "potential communities."

The relationship between the lack of "communities" in urban areas and high crime rates among young people has growing amounts of empirical support. According to Berelson and Steiner in Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings (1964), criminal behavior is more likely

> . . . among those people not closely tied to their own social groups or to the society as a whole through the sharing of behavioral norms. The weaker the social controls, the more deviation from them; hence, the more social disorganization, the more crime. Relatively more criminals and delinquents come from broken homes, from broken marriages, from families that have moved around, and thus loosened social ties, than come from unified, socially integrated families. There is some evidence that the delinquency rate is higher for "those whose parents are separated or divorced than for those who have lost a parent by death... In fact, some students of the matter believe that this is a, or even the, fundamental factor in causing delinquency: "It is the social-control approach that can best explain the rise or fall of delinquency rates" (pp. 625-626).

Given the present socially disorganized anomic conditions of most high crime areas, the major and most promising way to re-establish the sense of "community" in these urban areas is to "villagize" high crime neighborhoods, enhancing those social processes that bring a group of isolated families and individuals together into a functioning cohesive group of people. The most important aspect of developing cohesive groups is through individual and group participation. . . or "community involvement."

If "community involvement" is to have any relevance to the problem of juvenile delinquency, its prevention and reduction (as most experts agree; see Task Force Report: Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, 1967 and the three volume series Crime and Justice, 1971), then the involvement must focus on developing participation among those individuals and families that constitute natural, socially cohesive, or potentially cohesive, groups or communities. These groups must be meaningfully linked to the life space and socialization of potential delinquents and their families, as well as with the potential victims of crime (i.e., a number of studies reveal that most victims

share the same physical proximity and/or neighborhoods as the offenders who attack or steal from them).

In attempting to conceptualize the "villagizing" process of high crime neighborhoods, there are three different levels of looking at the groups and the natural social processes:

The Primary Group.--The primary group or the family unit is the basic socializing agent in our society. In the family unit, the child learns the norms and values of the society around him. In a loving, cohesive family the child learns love and concern for others; he learns how to control destructive and antisocial impulses. Since the family unit has such a profound influence on the healthy development of the child, and since no other social group has such a strong impact on the child, especially during his early formative years, the family unit must be the first line of defense in any attack on crime and delinquency. In social policy terms, rather than looking at alternatives to the family, we should focus instead on how our social policies can, in fact, support the family structure, keep the family unit together, and enhance the ability of the family to function more effectively. When a family is having difficulty functioning, social policies should not be automatically geared toward taking the child out of the family setting; instead, the family unit should be strengthened. Alternative placement for a child should be a last resort, and done only at a time when the child's well being is severely threatened (e.g., in cases of severe child battering). During the past several decades, our social policies have tended to ignore the family unit,

its integrity, and importance in the socialization and healthy development of the child. If we hope to make significant inroads on the problem of delinquency, the family unit should be the beginning point of concern, in not only delinquency prevention efforts, but also in the positive development of the full potential of each child within the family structure, so that a career in crime will not be a viable or attractive option.

The Secondary Group.--Next to the family, the second most important agent or secondary group for the socialization of the child is the natural social group or neighborhood, the "significant others" in a child's life space as he matures. These groups include peer or reference groups, especially during the years of adolescent development, formal groups (e.g., family-related church groups, school groups, formalized neighborhood social groups, etc.) and informal groups (e.g., friends and neighbors).

According to social research findings, physical proximity, creating opportunities to interact, is a critical element in group formation. Physical proximity is important to consider in the development of a cohesive "community" at the neighborhood level of urban social organization. Other critical and dynamic elements in the development of a cohesive "community" include shared problems, shared norms and values, and shared interests or concerns. Another dynamic factor in the development of a cohesive "community" is that the members potentially have something to gain by working together and/or potentially have something to lose by not functioning collectively (i.e., the cost-benefits or rewards-cost models of human

behavior). Finally, and perhaps most importantly, a neighborhood group must be able to see that it has a choice and power and a significant well-defined role that can be translated into effective action to meet the needs of the group and its members. Once a cohesive "neighborhood community" is developed, it can be a powerful, dynamic and positive force in both crime prevention efforts and in helping to develop other positive efforts on the part of the members. Examples from history and the social sciences abound that illustrate the positive role of a truly cohesive "community."

An historical example can be drawn from the blitz on London during World War II. Concerned about the common need to survive the bombings on London, neighborhoods were organized to protect themselves and their members. Each neighborhood identified "block wardens," many of whom served on a rotating basis, to serve as "watch dogs" of impending danger. The block wardens would monitor radio broadcasts; when a bomb alert would be sounded, the block warden would initiate the signal warning to his immediate neighbors, and as each person received the message he would pass it on to his neighbors, and so on. Within a very short period of time, the entire neighborhood could be alerted that German bombers were approaching London and that all neighborhood residents should seek shelter, usually at the local underground station.

Paradoxically, despite the severe threat to life and property, this period is not viewed negatively by people who lived through the blitz. Instead, many Londoners view the blitz period of World War II as being the "happiest" time in their lives! As written reports

indicate, morale was very high during this time, for these basic secondary or neighborhood groups were "together," functioning cohesively toward the positive goal of mutual survival.

During this period, people cared about each other and had well-defined roles, where the caring and mutual concern would be translated into effective action. The neighborhood had the choice and the power to work together, as well as the means by which collective action could benefit all of the members of the group.

Another example can be drawn from the social sciences in the studies of communities when disaster strikes (see E. L. Quarantelli and R. R. Dynes, "When Disaster Strikes," Psychology Today, February, 1972, pp. 67ff). When disaster strikes, neighborhoods frequently have to get together in order to deal effectively with both the natural disaster (e.g., hurricane, earthquake, etc.) and its aftermath. Contrary to popular beliefs, fostered by inaccurate media accounts of disaster situations, looting is a rare occurrence and crime rates typically drop dramatically during and after disasters:

> . . . We have found extremely few verified cases of looking in field studies of disasters in the United States or abroad. In the month in which Hurricane Betsy struck New Orleans, major crimes in the city fell 26.6 percent below the rate for the corresponding month of the previous year (p. 69).

Quarantelli and Dynes (1972) point out other "myths" that we have about disaster situations:

> A disaster is a major event in the life of any community and frequently becomes a major reference point by which other events are compared and rated. Townspeople draw together, feeling a sense of something unique and historic. The differences of class, race, rank, and age dissolve as they work side by side to

clear debris and rescue the injured. Contrary to popular belief, morale is high in the aftermath of disaster. . . .

The problems created by a disaster are immediate and imperative--rescue, finding shelter, etc. . . . People put aside their own suffering and turn to these tasks. As we noted before, amateurs do a major part of the recovery work in the first few hours of the disaster, long before outside agencies can participate. Leadership is informal but effective. . . .

Heightened morale within the community has unanticipated consequences. It supports and motivates the inhabitants, and it creates a wall that excludes outsiders, many of whom have skills and resources that are needed. Townspeople often see Red Cross and government rescue teams as impersonal, unsympathetic, cold, and insensitive to local problems and issues. The victims feel that it is <u>their</u> disaster, and they do not want outsiders coming in to take credit for the work done during the emergency period. And they are optimistic. Tornado victims in two Texas towns were asked by H. E. Moore how they felt about the future. In Waco, 52 percent of the victims throught their neighborhoods would be better off in the long run and 74 percent said the same in San Angelo. Only 2 percent said the future would be worse in Waco, and 10 percent in San Angelo. Asked about the town as a whole, residents were even more optimistic. Sixty-six percent said Waco could be better off in the long run; only 3.4 percent said San Angelo would be worse off as a result of its tornado.

. . . This optimism runs counter to the popular belief that disaster victims need to be assured that the outside world cares and that there is a future for their community. Visits by important public officials and widely publicized promises of massive aid probably generate more resentment than optimism. These images reflect the supposed weaknesses of average individuals and the fragility of local organizations in the face of major crisis. Our research shows that this assumption does not correspond to reality. . . .

The reality suggests that human beings are amazingly resilient in the face of adversity. Perhaps heroism is not the wrong word to describe disaster behavior. (pp. 69-70).

These examples illustrate the positive, dynamic, natural social force that a cohesive "community" can have, especially in meeting its needs effectively. Although the above examples focused on collective behavior during highly threatening situations, they are directly applicable to the threatening situation created by the crime problem, its prevention and reduction at the neighborhood level. When small geographical areas get "together," a cohesive "community" can lower crime. For example, last year a rash of burglaries hit East Palo Alto, California, an economically depressed suburban ghetto. Outraged by the frequency and prevalence of burglaries, neighborhood residents and store owners got together and forced the local "fences" out of business. . . and the burglary rate dropped to almost zero (Miller, 1972).

Another example of how the cohesiveness of the community can have a significant effect on crime can be drawn from studies by Zimbardo (1969) on car vandalism in New York City and Palo Alto, California, and on those factors that precipitate violence on the part of "normal, middle class persons." Zimbardo's studies indicate that vandalism and violent behaviors are more likely if the "potential offender" is socially isolated from his basic social groups or "community," those social forces that provide effective social controls on negative, destructive, or criminal behaviors. Zimbardo identifies these conditions or situations as "dehumanizing" or "deindividuating." Zimbardo's studies underscore the fact that the effects of these depersonalizing or socially isolating conditions not only trigger crime and violence on the part of the aggressive,

anti-social person, the image of the "potential criminal," but more importantly and more surprisingly, they trigger criminal acts and violence on the part of the normal, middle class person, the image of the "solid citizen."

Although little systematic research has been done in this area, the reported incidences of communities getting "together" suggests that active "community involvement" in fighting the problem may well be an effective way, and, perhaps, the most effective way to prevent and reduce crime and delinquency (2).

Effective "community involvement" strategies move away from making cities and suburban areas into "armed fortresses" where people are physically and socially isolated and disorganized, the specter of 1984, where our Constitutional freedoms could be usurped to "protect" the public from itself. In contrast, "community involvement" strategies focus on developing in community neighborhoods positive social processes as "natural" and "internalized" means of meeting the problem (i.e., versus major emphasis on the use of external negative constraints or deterrents that suppress criminal behavior only temporarily and/or displace it to a place where external forces are weaker). The goals in "community involvement" strategies are (a) to motivate people, individually and collectively, to want to satisfy their needs through legitimate means, so that careers in crime are not attractive, viable, and/or effective options; (b) to mobilize people to function more effectively in crime prevention efforts; and (c) to develop and evaluate strategies that stimulate voluntary compliance with the law. Strategies that motivate people to behave in positive ways because they want to behave that way should be used . . . versus

placing major emphasis on forcing compliance through the use or threat of external force, since such force has proven to be an ineffective behavioral approach as shown by the research generated from dissonance theory.

If we hope to "villagize" high crime areas into cohesive, stable and dynamic "communities," the individuals and groups at the neighborhood level, primary and secondary groups, must have a real sense of importance, participation, individuation and dignity, complemented by a sense of competence, usefulness, belongingness and power (cf. Polk, 1972), thereby minimizing the social factors that breed crime and delinquency, alienation, anomie, social disorganization, and so on . . . In short, neighborhood residents must have a real sense of "community involvement" and the power of self-determination to translate their needs and concerns into effective positive action, especially regarding the prevention and reduction of crime and delinquency.

The Tertiary Group.--The tertiary group level includes the local government and the major city or county-wide institutions, agencies, and formal organizations, such as schools, police, business, labor, and so on. In most areas, the tertiary groups administer public and private funds and services that are supposed to relate to and meet the needs of local residents.

Decades ago, when the "town meeting" really involved a sense of "community," the tertiary group was closely tied with the primary and secondary groups. As the government posture became more paternalistic, the government tended to move away from the primary and secondary

social groups. Paternalistic policies at all levels of government tended to view communities as abstract, static categories. . . not as dynamic "groups of people" who have a significant role in determining their own destiny. Programs were planned for "those people," "them," "Blacks," "Indians," "poor people," etc. . . categories of dehumanized people. As the Fiedler et al. (1971) study, the Wall Street Journal (1972) article and other data cited earlier indicate that the basic primary and secondary (or potential secondary) social groups are now alienated from the tertiary group level. A key policy and coordination issue involves how these three levels of group functioning can be brought more closely together (see Figure 1).

In specific terms, how can "community involvement" be translated into reality, so that the primary and secondary groups, families and neighborhoods, are linked responsibely, effectively, and efficiently to the tertiary groups, government and service delivery systems, . . . to the end (a) that people's needs are met, (b) that people have an opportunity to develop their full positive potential, and (c) that crime and delinquency are prevented and reduced in each "community" (3).

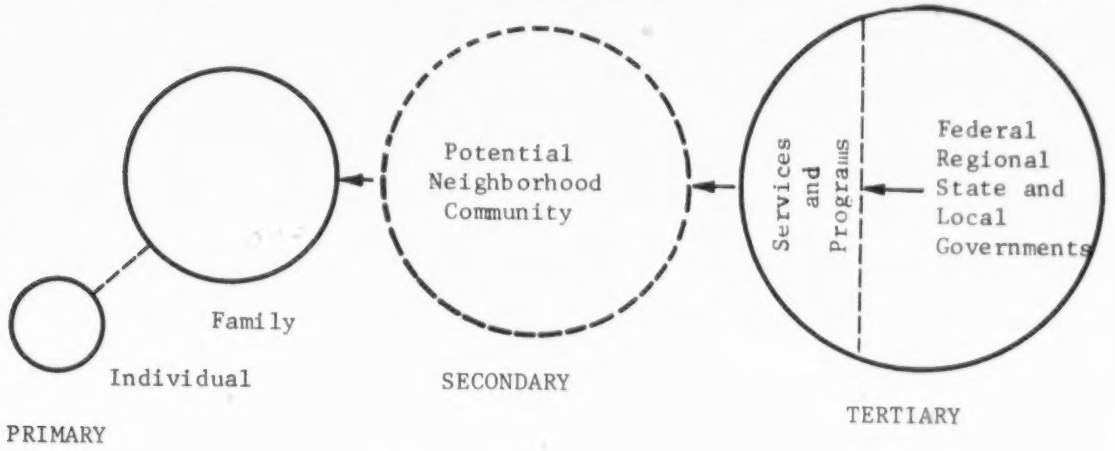
Degrees of Community Involvement

Before discussing strategies to increase "community involvement" among primary and secondary groups at the neighborhood level, we should first discuss the three major degrees of involvement possible:

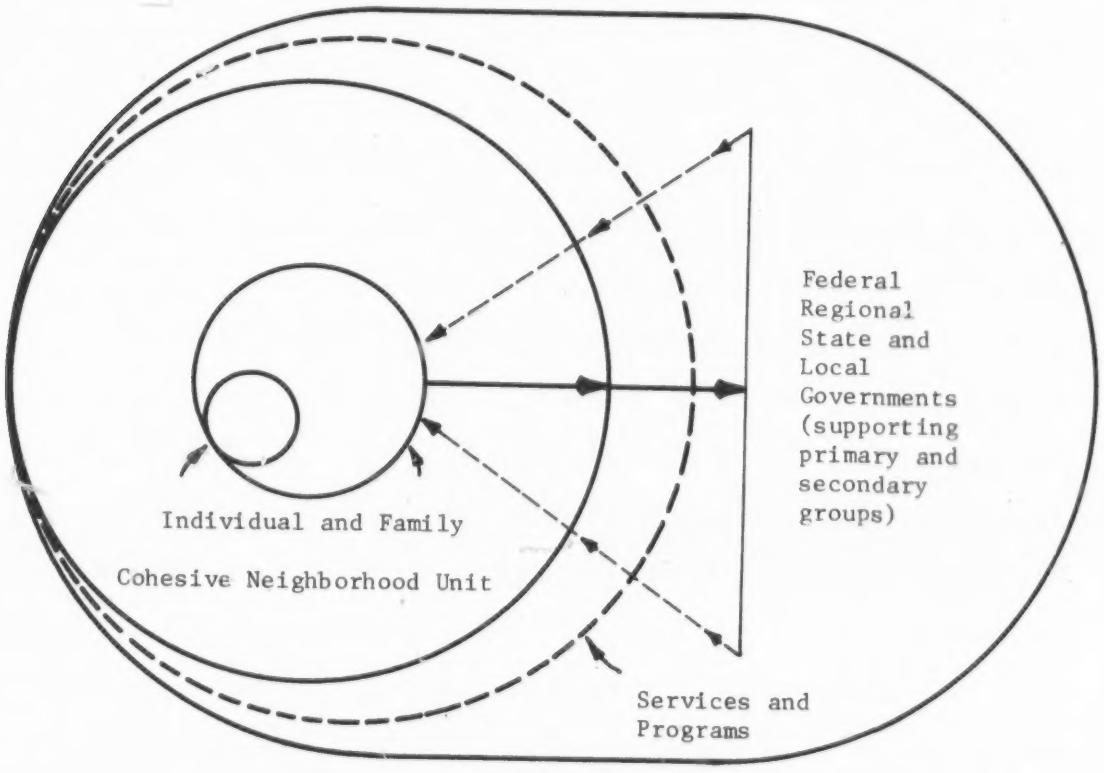
Awareness.--The most superficial degree of involvement is awareness of some knowledge about a problem, an event, or so on. Using an example of an election, the awareness level of involvement would include

Figure 1

Present Relationship Between Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Groups:



Proposed Effective Relationship Between Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Groups:



PRIMARY, SECONDARY AND TERTIARY GROUPS OVERLAPPING

some knowledge of the election and that candidates A and B are running for an elective office.

Attitudes.--The second degree of involvement would include attitudes. Possibly the most important distinguishing feature of attitudes is that they are necessarily evaluative or emotional. An attitude includes not only awareness but also dimensions of "good-bad," "like-dislike," etc. Using the election example, once a citizen determines that he likes candidate A over candidate B, he has some attitudes about the election. Although the evaluative dimension of attitudes (good-bad, like-dislike, favor-oppose, etc.) is the most important, other dimensions may be used to describe attitudes (i.e., potency or "strong-weak" distinctions and activity or "active-passive" distinctions).

Behavior.--The most important degree of involvement centers on behavior, where awareness and attitudes are translated into action. Using the election example, behavioral involvement is reflected when the citizen actually goes to the polls and votes on election day. The goal of any "community involvement" program is to affect the behavior of the primary and secondary groups in the neighborhood. What neighborhood residents do and what they fail to do can have a direct and important impact on crime and delinquency in the neighborhood. What types of behaviors might be desired on the part of neighborhood residents?

The specific needs and consequent behaviors will have to be defined ultimately be the neighborhood. There are, however, some broad goals that most neighborhoods would likely consider in any crime

and delinquency prevention and reduction efforts:

1. How can the functioning of the family unit be enhanced, so that delinquency can be effectively prevented through the dynamic socializing processes that occur within the family unit?

2. What roles can the adolescent peer group have both (a) on the prevention and reduction of delinquency among its members, and (b) on the development of positive, responsible behaviors or "positive citizenship" among its members?

3. How can neighborhood residents be motivated to help their neighbors, both during the time a neighbor is being victimized and after the neighbor has been victimized?

4. How can individuals and neighborhood groups be motivated and mobilized to be more concerned and more realistic about their own safety and the safety of their neighbors? How can these concerns be translated into effective actions?

5. How can the primary and secondary groups in a neighborhood be motivated and mobilized to participate more responsibly and more effectively in the criminal and/or juvenile justice process? How can neighborhood trust in the criminal justice process be restored, so that broader segments of the neighborhood will support the law and the principles of justice?

If each neighborhood could develop and implement strategies to answer these broad questions more effectively, the neighborhood could have an immediate and significant impact on preventing and reducing the crime on its streets. To the extent that the individuals and groups at the neighborhood level have a real sense of importance, participation, individuation and dignity, complemented by a sense of competence, usefulness, belongingness and power, the neighborhood can function effectively as a positive social force, using legitimate means to reach the ends of delinquency/crime prevention and reduction.

That is to say they can convert attitudes into actions.

In contrast, if the primary and secondary groups of potential neighborhood "communities" are ignored by social planners, we might well anticipate negative consequences. These consequences would include greater social isolation and anomie and higher rates of crime and delinquency. We could also anticipate a growing "territorial effect" where individuals transform their residences into stronger and stronger "fortresses," further increasing the social isolation and anomie of the people. As anomie and social isolation are increased, the distrust in law, in the justice process, in the political leadership and other leadership, and in our basic social institutions will grow. Wehn distrust of our basic social processes is high, we can anticipate that people, both individually and collectively, will be likely to take up extra-legal means to meet their needs and to reduce their fears, both real and imagined.

The negative consequences of this type of distrust and alienation are reflected in studies of vigilantism (Stark and McEvoy, 1970).

> . . . In his report to the Violence Commission, Richard Maxwell defined the vigilante tradition as "extra-legal movements which take the law into their own hands." . . . Of the many causes of this phenomenon, a prominent one is renewed lack of faith in law enforcement and legal institutions.
>
> Disenchantment with modern legal institutions is widespread today. Half of the respondents agree that "justice may have been a little rough-and-ready in the days of the Old West, but things worked better than they do now with all the legal red tape." Blacks are less likely than whites to prefer rough-and-ready justice, but sex and region have little influence on this opinion.

> Social class matters considerably, however. According to Brown, traditional vigilantism was a middle-class affair, an effort of "upright" citizens to secure order and safety. Today lack of faith in law and order is felt more by lower-income groups. About two thirds of those with a high-school education or less agreed with the statement, but only one third of college graduates did.
>
> We then asked for a more focused opinion of vigilantism: "Groups have the right to train their members in marksmanship and underground warfare tactics in order to help put down any conspiracies that might occur in the country." Overall, one fourth of the respondents agreed with this statement. Approval was most widespread among the less educated and poor; Southerners were most likely to agree (34%) and Westerners least likely (17%).
>
> Blacks were also more willing to endorse this statement than whites (41% to 24%), which may reflect increasing black concern with self-defense. . . .
>
> One American in 10 justifies private gun ownership as a counter to governmental power: "One of the best reasons for people to have guns is to make sure that the government doesn't get too much power" (pp. 110-111).

Stark and McEvoy also studied the propensities of middle- and lower-class persons to engage in violence as a means to ends. Contrary to many commonly held beliefs, they note:

> . . . Actually physical violence is reported as equally common among all income groups and educational levels. This finding is also true for <u>frequency</u> of physical violence.....If anything, the middle class is more prone toward physical assault (punching, beating, slapping) than the poor.
>
> This finding directly contradicts police statistics that suggest that the poor commit more acts of assault, get embroiled in more violent family arguments and otherwise act out their aggressions more frequently than the members of the higher social strata. We suggest that altercations among the poor are simply more likely to become police matters (p. 53).

The authors also note that about one person in five in this country condones certain acts of violence that could be classified as

"aggravated assault," an illegitimate means to meet personal ends (the definition of anomie) (4).

These violent, extra-legal and illegitimate propensities among broad segments of the population should be of serious concern to social planners. Clearly, these negative propensities should be reversed, and positive social processes should be encouraged as the most promising way to prevent and reduce crime and delinquency at the street level, where it occurs in neighborhoods.

Strategies to Enhance Positive Community Involvement

This section of the paper assumes that the most effective role of the federal government is to provide leadership in the form of technical assistance and information transfer, especially regarding innovative and promising strategies to prevent and reduce delinquency and crime more effectively, and the financial resources to cities and neighborhood groups . . . a notion that is consistent with the decentralization of the "New Federalism." If recipients of programs at the neighborhood level are to function effectively as an "involved community," the basic primary and secondary groups of the neighborhood must get involved in all aspects of the program (planning, implementation, operation, etc.). In order to enhance the positive process of "community involvement," the federal government (a) should support efforts of neighborhoods that want to get "together" as a functioning, dynamic "community," and (b) should assist the local government to develop active support for programs and services at the "grass roots" level in neighborhoods.

To the extent that certain federally funded programs have not been decentralized as yet, federal officials should accelerate the decentralization processes necessary for effective "community involvement" into program guidelines and program priorities. For example, program guidelines might require minimum levels of community involvement in a program before it can receive federal funds. These minimum requirements can be determined empirically through sociometric studies of neighborhoods and survey research techniques, with the data being collected by an independent research group.

In developing strategies to enhance "community involvement" in crime and delinquency prevention and reduction efforts, there are a number of strategies that either have solid empirical support and/or have promise, based on data collected in related areas. In most areas, further research is needed to determine the most effective strategies and to identify the conditions under which particular types of strategies are most effective and efficient. While there are others, four basic strategies will be discussed below since they appear to be the most salient: (1) information processes, (2) incentives (positive), (3) sanctions (negative), and (4) social accountability. All four strategies should be included in any "community involvement" efforts (5).

Information Processes.--For any neighborhood to become involved in an issue, it must have information about the problem and about potentially effective ways to meet the problem. Relevant information can be acquired through (a) the mass media, (b) through social networks (formal and informal) in the neighborhood, and (c) through personal

experience (see Kiesler et al., 1969, and Jones and Gerard, 1967).

The goal of any information campaign is to stimulate the community to have greater appreciation, interest, and active support in the content of the message(s) communicated.

What do we know about information campaigns, information processes, and the public responses to these efforts that can be applied to our "community involvement" strategies?

Although many people believe that the mass media are always an effective means to communicate information to the public, many information campaigns to the general public or to particular audiences may not be very successful. Before initiating a media campaign on crime and delinquency, it is desirable to reflect on the nature of these campaigns in general. Several critical questions need to be raised: Will the message reach the public effectively? Will the public or target group resist by tuning out the message or avoiding the message and its contents? If they notice the message, will the message enter their frame of reference? Is the material important to them? Once the message has reached this stage, further questions are important to consider: Will the target group learn some new information and/or unlearn some old misinformation? Will this new input change their attitudes, preferences, beliefs, orientations, and views about what should be done? Finally, will behavior itself change as a result of the information campaign? Information campaigns are conducted to "make a difference" in these areas, but many do not succeed (Breed, 1971).

All of the above questions form a part of a chain of influence. In this light, the waging of an information campaign takes on

considerable complexity and calls for detailed planning. In analyzing how an effective information campaign might be conducted, we might first study why many information campaigns fail.

Public education through the mass media implies communication. It is a process requiring more than well-prepared and well-delivered material. The recipient, for his part, must be ready and willing to respond. For education to take place, the individual's consciousness must be penetrated by the message; he must cooperate as a key actor in the process. This is a truism, but frequently information campaigns ignore such a self-evident truth.

Communications research studies indicate that it is clear that the targets of educational and informational campaigns frequently resist and reject the message. One of the best known cases was the attempt to convince the residents of Cincinnati to support the United Nations. An enormous and expensive information campaign was launched, using all conceivable media and vehicles of communication, but before-after surveys showed that little change resulted (Star and Hughes, 1950). Similarly, during World War II the Treasury Department placed a pamphlet to buy war bonds in nearly every household in the country; a survey of Baltimore showed that 83 percent of the respondents did not remember having seen it (Cartwright, 1949). An ongoing study of knowledge about, and attitudes toward, the use of the Suicide Prevention Center in New Orleans is showing that despite considerable publicity many persons do not realize the Center exists, and even if they do, their use of the free public service is far from automatic (Swanson

and Breed, ongoing). People for years have used "radio ear" to insulate themselves from broadcasts turned on but tuned out. Similarly, some advertising and political campaigns do well, while others, equally well financed, do poorly (Bauer, 1969). Clearly, success in information campaigns cannot be guaranteed.

Why this resistance and apathy, and failure of some information programs? The findings of social psychologists lead to the questioning of previous assumptions about communication. Basically, the error of the earlier work was to assume automatic attention and cooperation from the recipient of the message; observers spoke of "the power of the press," "brainwashing," and "totalitarian domination of people's minds." Now it has become clear that the recipient is not so passive and compliant in response to efforts to influence him. Rather, he filters and selects the message and proceeds to accept or reject it, in part or in total, or to reinterpret it, so that it fits within his personal frame of reference or set of expectations (Yaryan, 1968). He is not so much a sponge as a person wishing to maintain his customary sets--cognitive, motivational, and behavioral. In addition, in this age of mass communication, where people are increasingly bombarded with all types of advertising, the level of suspicion and resistance among the populace has built up as a protective measure.

Another problem is that much of the earlier work on communications and persuasion was done under sterile laboratory conditions; Hovland (1959) has shown that the laboratory audience is more compliant and less autonomous than persons playing their daily roles in interaction with other people within a familiar cultural milieu. Laboratory findings

may not hold for public information campaigns. Other studies have shown that the aims sought by the educator are not necessarily accepted and implemented by the recipient; sometimes quite opposing results are achieved--"the boomerang effect" (e.g., the National Institute of Mental Health drug abuse campaign of Fall, 1970; Fuches, 1971). This can happen even in a totalitarian society; Russians learned from the media what they wanted to know, not what the regime wanted them to know (Inkeles and Bauer, 1959). The social-psychological principles governing this behavior have been described by several scholars (e.g., Cartwright, 1949; Festinger, 1957; Wieve, 1970).

Those people who plan to conduct public information campaigns are well instructed to bear in mind these hard-learned insights. Far from being all-powerful "hypodermic needles," as Klapper (1960) put it, the mass media are only one of several factors working upon the individual to bring him new information and attitudes. His daily rounds of exchange with other persons on some issues are often more decisive than media exposure (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1954). All the while a person is attempting to maintain a level of homeostasis by reducing inconsistencies and dissonance (Festinger, 1957). What has emerged in communication theory is a view not of a one-way street, but of communication as a transactional process, with a filtering, balancing, and tension-reducing system of motivations being actively employed by the potential target of the message, the individual person (Breed, 1971).

Information exposure through the mass media is not the only way to increase the information level and involvement of members of the

public. People learn as well by acting, dealing with what concerns them to achieve specified goals. Group activity offers particular value by providing the stimulation of sharing with neighbors an interest in a problem, such as crime and delinquency prevention and reduction, which collective action can meet more efficiently than solo behavior. Joining with other like-minded persons contains the potential for considerable heightening of awareness and involvement in the issues and problems. In group action, the member gains new perceptions about the specific problem and also about his role in the community and his responsibilities as a citizen. He can start to learn that citizens can exert a measure of important influence on public policies and decisions. Finally, group action can lay the basis for continued activity when a formal educational campaign is concluded.

The previous discussion has several important implications for conducting an effective program to increase understanding of and involvement in important crime and delinquency issues. It must be acknowledged that people will respond selectively to material presented them, actively filtering it according to their existing notions and expectations of the world, resisting and perhaps rejecting the message. Their interest, attention and trust must be gained, and time must be granted them to assimilate knowledge that may be complex and viewpoints that could be personally challenging. More importantly, long-lasting changes can be attained if this heightened awareness gains expression in action, particularly in conjunction with others, to achieve desired ends (Breed, 1971).

If the focal point for the information campaign is a neighborhood, the following strategies should be included to maximize the success of the campaign, especially in anomic and socially disorganized parts of a city:

1. Using survey research and sociometric research techniques, identify the "natural" neighborhood parameters and the "natural" potential leadership in each neighborhood.

2. Within each neighborhood area identify the major issues and problems perceived by the residents, as well as critical attitudes and expectations regarding the message to be communicated, so that the message can be presented in a way that will maximize receptivity on the part of the residents.

3. Once the "natural" leadership in the neighborhood is identified (or neighborhood person(s), who fits the neighborhood residents' expectations regarding a leader they would respect, is identified) train these "natural" leaders in the techniques of community organization.

4. Since the potentially most effective information campaign would be tailored to the needs, expectations, and interests of each neighborhood, most mass media efforts should not be used, except general awareness messages, broadcast by television, and radio stations. Instead, major efforts should be placed on more personalized information techniques (e.g., mail campaign).

5. Once these personalized information techniques have begun, the "natural" community leader should follow up the information campaign with visits to the homes of the community residents.

6. Once a personal contact has been made with all of the residents, "neighborhood meetings" should be scheduled, to which all residents should be invited. The "natural" leadership should follow up on non-attenders and encourage their participation in these neighborhood efforts. The objective here is to maximize interaction between the residents so that positive bonds of cohesion can be formed. Once these positive cohesive bonds are developed among the basic primary and secondary groups, the neighborhood group can begin to function as an "involved community." Some of the techniques of community organization, especially

as they relate to effective community efforts to prevent and reduce crime and delinquency will be described in greater detail below.

With regard to important information processes the objective is to maximize information exchange and social interaction through (a) the media, especially the more personalized media, (b) the natural social networks in the neighborhood, both formal and informal, and (c) the personal experience of the residents of the neighborhood (tailoring the message to fit the interests, needs and expectations of the residents). The more action and interaction between the residents, the more effective the information campaign is likely to be.

Positive Incentives.--If residents are going to want to comply with a crime and delinquency prevention and reduction effort, some incentives may be used to enhance motivation. If a resident has something to gain by changing his behaviors, he will be more likely to modify his actions to meet the goals of the program.

One of the greatest incentives is self-determination, the power and the legitimate means to have control over one's destiny. Self-determination is the most essential element in any "community involvement" effort, for self-determination maximizes participation and insures that community efforts to meet needs and solve problems can, in fact, be realized.

To increase individual and family competency, primary incentives could be employed (e.g., monetary incentives or direct supplements to income in the form of vouchers for needed services to the poor families). Primary incentives could include direct rewards for positive citizen efforts, both to individuals and to groups. For

example, we know that welfare families have the highest rates of delinquency of any "high risk" group; we also know that welfare families cannot meet all of their basic needs without having an "illegal street game." To reduce delinquency and crime among this group of people, we should make it "worth their while" to not engage in illegal behaviors. Experimentally, we might try providing direct rewards to these families for certain types of positive, constructive behaviors. For example, if the children of welfare families attend school regularly and stay out of trouble with the law, we might consider giving the family a "bonus" (e.g., vouchers for needed services, food, clothing, etc., or for recreational or entertainment activities). This bonus would not only provide an incentive for the family to want to increase its competency and functioning, but also it would be a needed and legal supplement to an inadequate income, thereby reducing the necessity to have an "illegal street game."

Research on the effects of direct and immediate rewards to poor families is scant. Preliminary results on recent income maintenance programs for poor families, a component part of the President's welfare plan, indicate that this type of program does not cut work motivation. A detailed evaluation of these programs is scheduled to be completed during 1973 (see Behavior Today, April 24, 1972).

Although rigorous research on incentives in the welfare area is presently lacking, incentive or reward notions to enhance performance have been evaluated elsewhere. Incentive programs, including monetary bonuses and praise or positive feedback and public recognition for a job well done, are now being used in private industry to increase

productivity and profits, as well as to improve employee morale.

During the past three years since instituting an employee incentive program, primarily involving positive feedback and recognition for employing effective and efficient practices, as well as monetary bonuses for exceptional performance, Emery Air Freight has saved an estimated two million dollars. According to Whyte's (1972) report on the Emery Air Freight evaluation:

> . . . Significantly, in 1968, the first full year after the new course was launched, sales jumped from $62.4 million to $79.8 million, a gain of 27.8 percent, compared with an 11.3 percent rise the year before (p. 68).
>
> . . . supervisors and regional sales managers applied positive reinforcement in the form of praise and recognition for performance improvement. The result: Container use (an efficient practice) throughout the country jumped from 45 percent to 95 percent. And in more than 70 percent of the offices, the increase came in a single day. More important, performance slumped more than 50 percent, only to rise rapidly again when feedback was resumed. Cost reduction from this program was initially pegged at $650,000 a year, but in October alone, record savings of $125,000 were chalked up (p. 69).
>
> To some, Emery's approach seems overly simplistic and idealistic. But, Emery believes that it has hit on a unique way to link such theoretical ideas as work measurement, management by objectives, job enrichment, productivity and profit improvement, and participative management into a practical program that pays off (p. 69).

Although we know that direct primary incentives can have a profound impact on human behavior, we know very little at present about how incentives might be used to enhance "community involvement" and "positive citizenship." At present, we do know that our crime and delinquency rates are so high that we cannot afford not to try some new ideas. We know that direct incentives are very effective in changing individual and group behavior in other areas; perhaps, the

same principles could be applied here.

Another way to enhance "positive citizenship" and "community involvement" is through secondary incentives. Secondary incentives would include indirect rewards (e.g., insurance breaks and tax deductions) for engaging in behaviors that have a direct impact on the prevention and reduction of crime and delinquency.

Since our knowledge of the effects of indirect rewards or secondary incentives is limited, we should try this strategy on an experimental basis initially and rigorously evaluate its effectiveness, both positive and negative effects.

As research on the motivation of human behavior has demonstrated, incentives are very important. What is a relevant incentive in one neighborhood may not be the same in another neighborhood (e.g., primary or direct rewards would probably be most effective in poor neighborhoods, where meeting immediate biological needs is critical; in contrast, secondary or indirect rewards might be more effective in an affluent neighborhood, where immediate needs are less pressing). What types of incentives a given neighborhood might like to try will have to be up to that neighborhood. The federal government could make various incentive programs available on an initially experimental basis, so that neighborhoods could consider incentive programs as a potentially effective means to enhance involvement and positive citizenship.

Negative Sanctions.--As incentives function as "carrots" or positive inducements to motivation and action, sanctions serve as the "sticks" or negative inducements to motivation and action, particularly avoidance or deterrent action. If the goal of community involvement

is to prevent and reduce crime and delinquency in a neighborhood, the residents should also consider ways to make crime less attractive to potential offenders. . . so that "crime will not pay."

One sanctioning strategy might be to have some form of restitution, whereby the offender pays back the victim for the loss inflicted upon him. Certainly, this form of "punishment" would be directly related to the crime, so that the offender could learn the direct consequences of his illegal act (as the psychology of learning shows, punishment is more effective if it is directly related to the undesirable behavior . . . which might help to explain in part why many correctional programs are so frequently ineffective). In our society, we do not normally have restitution as a part of criminal proceedings, even though we do have forms of restitution in civil proceedings. From anthropological data on various Indian tribes that have some form of restitution defined by the tribe for "criminal acts," it appears to be a fairly effective means of not only punishing and deterring the offender, but it helps to compensate the victim for the loss that was incurred by the crime.

Another sanctioning strategy would be to take the profitability out of crime. These canctioning strategies might include increasing the penalties for dealing with stolen property. In economic terms, if the demand for stolen property can be reduced significantly, the supply and the motivation to provide that supply should diminish correspondingly. If the burglar cannot get rid of his stolen goods,

there is little point for him to go on burglarizing, for burglary ceases to be profitable. Too frequently, police focus their attention exclusively on apprehending burglars and overlook the "fencing operations" that make burglary profitable.

These and other sanctioning strategies could be tried on an experimental basis initially in neighborhoods to see which types of sanctioning strategies are most effective in preventing and reducing crime and delinquency. Restitution programs would probably be attractive to most neighborhoods, since they would reduce the costs of crime to the victims. A program of restitution could be worked out with the provision that the neighborhood residents become more involved in crime and delinquency efforts. This type of strategy, linking restitution to community involvement, might prove very effective. . . both as a means to enhance community involvement efforts and as a means to reduce crime and delinquency.

Social Accountability.--Social accountability is a difficult concept to define in simple, concrete terms, since it deals with both the verbal and non-verbal quality of a relationship between residents of a neighborhood. The concept is, perhaps, the most important in terms of understanding the processes that occur in interactions between neighbors. Social accountability includes "Good Samaritanism," a resident helping a neighbor in need (whether the neighbor is a victim of crime, a participant in a conflict situation, a person having difficulty coping with problems effectively, etc.). It also includes an emotional dimension of an interaction, of people caring for others and translating that concern into positive action.

What are some strategies to enhance social accountability, an important dimension of "community involvement"? How can people be motivated to care about their neighbors and to translate these concerns into positive actions? How can people be mobilized in a neighborhood setting in ways that enhance "community involvement," while at the same time preventing and reducing crime and delinquency?

Studies of "Good Samaritanism (see Pilivin, Rodin and Piliavin, 1969) and studies by others of helping behavior might give us some insight and important clues. These studies suggest the importance of at least one person modeling helping behavior (a helping model). A person is more likely to be a Good Samaritan, if he has just observed another person performing a helpful act, even among strangers on the depersonalized New York City subways during an emergency situation. The modeling effect is powerful, especially if the victim of the emergency is sympathetic, and the potential helper can identify and empathize with his plight. The modeling effect can also produce high rates of helping behavior among strangers in an impersonal setting. For example, Piliavin, et al. found in their study of helping behavior on the New York subways:

> . . .on 60 percent of the 81 trials on which the victim received help, he received it not from one Good Samaritan but from two, three, or even more. There are no significant differences between Black and White victims, or between cane (sympathetic) and drunk (unsympathetic) victims, in the number of helpers subsequent to the first who came to his aid. Seemingly, then, the presence of the first helper has important implications which override whatever cognitive and emotional differences were initially engendered among observers by the characteristics of the victim (pp. 292-293).

The Piliavin, et al. study develops a model to explain the findings of helping behavior studies. They start with the assumption that an emergency situation creates an unpleasant state of arousal on the part of observers. This unpleasantness can be reduced by (a) helping directly, (b) going to get help, (c) leaving the scene of the emergency, and (d) rejecting the victim as being undeserving of help.

> The response that will be chosen is a function of a cost-reward matrix that includes costs associated with helping (e.g., effort, embarrassment, possible disgusting or distasteful experiences, possible physical harm, etc.), costs associated with not helping (mainly self-blame and perceived censure from others), rewards associated with helping (mainly praise from self, victim, and others), and rewards associated with not helping (mainly those stemming from continuation of other activities). Note that the major motivation implied in the model is not a positive "altruistic" one, but rather a selfish desire to rid oneself of an unpleasant emotional state (p. 298).

Piliavin, et al. and other helping behavior studies have direct application to the problem of "community involvement," its enhancement and its relevance to effective crime/delinquency prevention and reduction efforts.

First, the cost-reward matrix analysis of helping behavior suggests that those processes (a) that decrease costs associated with helping, (b) that increase costs associated with not helping, (c) that increase rewards associated with helping, and (d) decrease rewards associated with not helping will maximize "Good Samaritanism" behaviors. If a neighborhood can be "villagized," transforming isolated individuals into a cohesive "community" with strong bonds between the members, then:

a. the rewards associated with helping neighbors will be increased through praise and gratitude from a known person who one holds with some esteem and positive affect or from praise from self, both of which would be increased as liking for the victim increased.

b. the costs associated with not helping neighbors will be increased through self-blame and censure from other neighbors for abandoning an important member of the group and a friend.

c. the costs associated with helping neighbors will be decreased because the embarrassment in helping a friend would be low and the effort and risks associated with helping a friend would more than justify the helping behavior.

d. the rewards associated with not helping neighbors will be decreased because there would be few, if any, rewards in knowingly abandoning a friend in need.

The next question is how to bring the neighborhood "together," transformed into a "villagized community," so that "Good Samaritanism" behaviors on the part of the residents will be maximized.

One of the most powerful ways to stimulate these positive behaviors is by having a model, ideally an identified "natural" and respected leader who lives in the neighborhood, who could be identified by sociometric studies of the neighborhood. He could serve as a "community catalyst" to stimulate interaction and positive behaviors on the part of the residents. This person, or perhaps several identified persons, could increase the dialogue between residents. Through training, he could teach the residents how to cope more effectively with their problems and how to manage primary or secondary group conflict situations more constructively. This person could also function as an advocate for his neighbors and as a 'block warden,"

helping residents to protect themselves more effectively. This person could be the model of "Good Samaritanism," a powerful agent in stimulating helping behaviors, as well as other behaviors that would bring residents together, so that the neighborhood could prevent and reduce crime and delinquency more effectively.

Third, what can social planners do to facilitate and maximize these natural social processes and to maximize their impact on crime and delinquency?

a. All neighborhood residents should have a real and meaningful opportunity to participate in the planning, implementation, and operation of any program designed to serve them.

b. The "neighborhood unit," the basic primary and secondary groups within a relatively small geographical area, should be formally identified as the key social group in any crime/delinquency prevention and reduction efforts. In order to formalize this basic social unit, the "neighborhood unit" should be linked to local and state plans, especially those plans that are concerned with crime and delinquency.

c. Minimum levels of neighborhood participation should be determined empirically, before a community-based or neighborhood program is funded. Evaluation guidelines should also be established that are aimed at assessing the degree to which neighborhood residents are actively involved in programs. All evaluations should be conducted by an independent social research organization or university.

d. Since our knowledge is limited regarding how a community can be effectively organized and how a cohesive community can function effectively in crime/delinquency prevention and reduction efforts, a high priority should be placed on both innovation and research in these areas. The research should be aimed at (a) evaluating the positive and negative effects of any innovative program, (b) at developing reliable measures of community involvement, crime, delinquency, and other relevant dimensions of the

problem, and (c) at developing practical methods to collect rigorous scientific data that will be useful to the neighborhood, to local and state governments, to relevant service delivery systems, and to social planners at all governmental levels.

Additional Research Needs

In addition to the research needs cited throughout the paper, additional research needs to be conducted in other related areas as well. In any research directed toward enhancing "community involvement" as an effective and efficient means to prevent and reduce delinquency and crime, the major overall objective should emphasize the development of positive social processes to prevent, control, and reduce juvenile crime at the neighborhood level. A positive emphasis on community involvement, as compared to the traditional emphasis on using negative sanctions exclusively, threats of punishment, and use of force and physical constraints and deterrents to prevent and reduce criminal acts, would appear to be the more practical approach. Major research program components should include the following issues, which were developed in conjunction with Fred Heinzelmann of the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice:

1. Effective social deterrents to criminal action should be developed and tested in a neighborhood setting, especially in high crime areas. These social deterrents might include new roles and responsibilities for neighbrohood action groups, families within the neighborhood, police, gangs, the mass media, and so on.

2. Scientific attention should be given to the public's concern with and response to crime, including unrealisitc and distorted fears of crime, involvement in activities dealing directly with crime reduction efforts and the administration of justice, and the support of law and criminal juvenile justice operations.

a. Neighborhood concern with and response to crime and its effects on personal life style needs evaluation, including the role of experience with crime, mass media reporting of crime and interpretation of the operations of the criminal/juvenile justice systems, etc.

b. Programs involving police, courts and corrections which promote positive citizenship and neighborhood support of criminal justice operations need to be developed, implemented and evaluated. Such programs might include (a) the promotion of the citizen's role as witness, jury member, citizen helper, supporter of neighborhood based rehabilitation, and restitution programs, etc., (b) direct and indirect involvement with various administration of justice efforts; and (c) the promotion of community-police-parapolice (i.e., "block warden" efforts) relations, volunteer efforts in crime prevention and rehabilitation, and so on.

3. New roles and responsibilities, as well as accountability, need to be developed and evaluated for community agencies and volunteer efforts in delinquency prevention and youth development efforts, including schools, welfare agencies, health services, etc.

4. The response of the criminal justice system, police, courts and corrections, to the problem of delinquency and crime needs careful study, especially those types of responses that lessen neighborhood support for criminal justice functions and instigate more criminality within the community.

5. The ecology of crime needs detailed scientific exploration. The research focus should include both (a) elements in the physical environment and (b) the action and response of individuals and groups to the level of neighborhood security, both actual and perceived, and to the incidence of crime.

6. In attempting to reduce stranger-to-stranger crimes, the research focus should be directed at the interaction of the setting, both physical and social environments, the victim and the offender. The goal here would be to develop effective useful citizen actions based on (a) the nature and characteristics of the setting and the offense, (b) the characteristics and actions of the most likely people to be "victimized" and (c) the characteristics and actions of the offender.

In any research program designed to prevent and reduce the incidence of crime and delinquency, an important focus of the research should be on the primary and secondary groups at the neighborhood level of social organization; here is where the crime occurs and here is where the crime must ultimately be prevented.

Summary and Recommendations

The importance of the community role in any juvenile delinquency program and in any efforts to prevent and reduce crime and delinquency effectively can be summarized in the following recommendations:

Recommendation 1: That high national priority be placed on involved neighborhood delinquency/crime prevention and reduction efforts that are designed:

1. To develop in community neighborhoods positive social processes as "natural" and "internalized" means of preventing and reducing delinquency/crime (i.e., versus placing emphasis on the use of external negative constraints or deterrents that suppress criminal behavior temporarily and/or displace it to a place where external forces are weaker). The goals here are (a) to mobilize people individually and collectively to function more effectively in crime prevention efforts and (b) to motivate people to want to satisfy their needs through legitimate means, so that careers in crime are not attractive, viable and/or effective options.

2. To develop and implement strategies that stimulate voluntary compliance, strategies that motivate people to behave in constructive crime/delinquency prevention ways because they want to behave that way, as opposed to placing emphasis on forcing compliance through the use or threat of external force.

3. To develop and implement guidelines that support and are consistent with our Constitutionally guaranteed freedoms and that enhance the premise of participatory democracy upon which this country's constitution is based, and upon which the "New Federalism" is derived.

4. To develop and implement strategies that enhance the primary socializing unit, the family, to function more effectively as both agents of prevention and agents of individual development and enrichment. The family unit must be the first line of defense against crime...both as a factor in its cause and in its effective prevention.

5. To develop and implement strategies that enhance the basic secondary socializing units, the natural formal and informal social groups or the neighborhood unit, to function more effectively as agents of delinquency/crime prevention. A corelary to this recommendation: to develop strategies that deter and minimize anomie and social disintegration/dirorganization, especially in high crime neighborhoods.

6. To develop and implement strategies that directly link primary and secondary socialization groups (families and natural social groups) to the tertiary groups (institutions, agencies, and formal organizations such as schools, police, business, labor, etc.) which provide protective and supportive services, and which administer public and private monies, so (a) that these tertiary groups could better complement and support the prevention efforts of communities and (b) that these tertiary groups could be more accountable and more responsive to the clients they serve.

7. To develop in individuals and primary and secondary groups at the neighborhood level a sense of importance, participation, dignity and individuation, complemented by a sense of competence, usefulness, belongingness and power (thereby minimizing alienation, anomie, etc.)

8. To develop and implement effective strategies that take into account the pluralistic nature of our society and that build on the cultural richness and pride of the many sub-cultures in our society. Unity in communities must come from a respect for the individuality of its members. The proposed stragegies should be closely linked to the supportive and protective services provided by the tertiary community organizations and groups (local government, school, police, business, labor, etc.)

9. To develop and implement some innovative strategies (a) that are derived from scientific knowledge about human behavior and (b) that promise to be more effective than

traditional strategies in the prevention and reduction of delinquency and crime; these strategies should be spelled out in sufficient detail, so that they could be tested empirically.

10. To develop and implement operational strategies to prevent and reduce delinquency and crime that are:

    (a) Quantifiable

    (b) Practical

    (c) Testable (if innovative)

    (d) Realistic (in terms of promising to reduce delinquency and crime more effectively)

Recommendation 2: That any coordinating structure and process be linked directly to empirically determined, natural neighborhood units (including state and local plans in the juvenile delinquency-youth development areas). This natural social group, functioning cohesively, promises to be the most effective, efficient, and responsive agent with respect to the prevention and reduction of delinquency and crime where it occurs...on the streets of these neighborhoods.

Recommendation 3: That a high priority be placed on social research aimed at (a) identifying the most effective and efficient ways to enhance "community involvement" and positive social processes (e.g., "Good Samaratinism," etc.), and (b) identifying the most effective and efficient ways that involved neighborhoods can prevent and reduce delinquency and crime.

Recommendation 4: That the Federal government, through standard social research techniques, support community involvement efforts at the neighborhood level. This support would include planning monies

(a) to identified neighborhood units who want to get "together" and develop a strategy to accomplish their objectives and (b) to local governments to identify natural neighborhood units and natural neighborhood leadership and to develop active involvement at the "grass roots" level of the neighborhoods within their jurisdictions.

Recommendation 5: That until the "New Federalism" effort is completed, that minimum community involvement requirements (empirically determined minimum levels of participation) be included in all program guidelines and program priorities in the juvenile delinquency and youth development areas.

In closing, what are the implications of this paper for the specific problem of diversion of youngsters from the juvenile or criminal justice system?

First, the planning, implementation, operation, and control of a community-based diversion program should be located at the neighborhood level of social organization. Although city-wide resources should be coordinated at the level of city or county government, the program itself should be decentralized.

Secondly, in a decentralized diversion program, every effort should be made to involve youthful residents and their families in the operation of all aspects of the program.

Third, in any diversionary program, the thrust should be on diverting the youngster away from the juvenile justice system, not away from his family. In some cases, a child may not be able to stay within the structure of his own family. If alternate placement is absolutely necessary, then the child should be placed in a stable family unit

within the neighborhood.

Fourth, a case entering any diversionary program should not be labelled as a "child in trouble" (with its many negative implications). Instead, the case unit should be "a child and family in need." Efforts to help the child should also include the family.

Fifth, any neighborhood-based diversionary program should develop in youngsters and their families a sense of importance, participation, individuation and dignity, complemented by a sense of competence, usefulness, belongingness and power.

Finally, any neighborhood diversionary program not only should be concerned with directing youngsters away from the juvenile justice system, but also should be a responsible agent or catalyst in developing the full positive potential of each child in the neighborhood.

If a potential candidate for the juvenile justice system and his family are closely tied to the neighborhood unit, the positive social pressures of the "neighborhood community" can function as an effective deterrent against crime and delinquency. The more effective the "involved community" is, the less need for diversionary programs for deviant, criminal behaviors will tend to be curbed before they reach severe enough levels to require any official or formal intervention... even the intervention of a diversionary system.

NOTES

[1] According to Webster's Dictionary (1961, p 616), paternalism refers to the "relation between the governed and the government... involving care and control suggestive of those followed by a father; also, the principles or practices so involved." The term paternalism typically denotes a concentration and centralization of power in government and in those service or program agencies tied to the government; the term also connotes a minimal role for the recipients of governmental services and programs, especially in the planning, implementation and control of these services and programs.

The above brief and overly simplified discussion of the Federal role is necessarily sketchy and imcomplete, due to space limitations (a detailed analysis is presently in preparation for later publication). The brief discussion of the changing Federal role is included in the text, so that the analysis of community involvement strategies can be placed in the contest of present federal efforts to decentralize the power and decision-making of government, returning a greater share of the responsibility to the people and to those governmental units that are closer to the people.

[2] Perhaps the most famous project involving the community in delinquency prevention efforts was the Chicago Area Project. This project has not been discussed at length in the exposition, because "no evidence that the Project reduced delinquency could be scientifically validated" (Lemert, 1971, p. 77). Despite the fact that the Project did not produce compelling data on juvenile

delinquency, it did have some significant success. First, it demonstrated the feasibility of creating youth welfare organizations among residents of high delinquency neighborhoods. It was also effective in making contact with the isolated male adolescent, a high risk crime prospect. It also tempered and humanized the urban machinery that attempted to control and correct the behavior of the wayward child. For a more thorough discussion of the project, see Shaw and MacKay (1942), Kobrin (1959), Sorrentino (1959), Amos and Welford (1967), and Lemert (1971).

Although the "War on Poverty" articulated "community involvement" as an important principle in governmental efforts to combat poverty, most efforts at "community involvement" did not link the primary and secondary groups closely to the tertiary level in significant ways. Most community poverty models tended to be "elitist" in practice, with primarily "token involvement" on the part of the recipients of the programs. The three major models used in the poverty program have been described in detail by Mogulof (in Amos and Welford, 1967, pp. 236ff); these models include (a) strong mayor model, (b) the government coalition model, and (c) the cause oriented model. The failures and the problems with the poverty program, especially in the area of significant and meaningful community involvement, have been discussed at length by Moynihan (1968) and Sundquist (1969).

[4] For a detailed discussion of self-defense patrols, with some discussion of vigilantism, see Marx and Archer (1972).

[5] Some of the specific concepts and strageties in this section and in some of the other sections of the paper were developed in conjunction with the Community Involvement Sub-Committee, Community Crime Prevention Task Force of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, 1972.

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